

New man.

THE PROTESTANT

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NOTE:—Owing to the limitations of the paper quota assigned us by the War Production Board, it has been necessary to omit the November and December numbers for 1944. This will not affect the number of issues received by subscribers as we will extend your subscription.

A HETERODOX OPINION ON GERMANY

And other editorials by KENNETH LESLIE

The problem for Germany is the same as for the whole world: how to add strength to goodness. And how to take strength from evil. That is the present phase of the German problem. The Allies now take strength from the evil Germany. The question what to do with Germany will turn into the question what will Germany do. This will happen after the Allies emerge from the destructive task of removing strength from the evil Germany. However, we should try to anticipate as much as possible the conditions under which the problem will be presented when this phase is over. We must try to anticipate what our attitude will be as we enter Germany. One way to do this would naturally be to remember what we did on entering other Axis countries. For instance Italy. On entering Italy we more or less stabilized the *status quo*. Wholesale moral, physical and spiritual degradation stalks the countryside. The partisans who were the back-

bone of anti-Fascist elements in Italy have been disarmed, frequently by a trickery which has left in their souls an abysmal bitterness. Our actions in China have been no better, if indeed they have not been worse. We have ridden along with Chungking on the backs of the poor Chinese partisans.

Spain? We bolstered Franco in Spain. That sums up our shame there.

With these precedents in mind may not a similar catastrophic British-American policy in Germany be anticipated? Not exactly, and for the following reason. The Soviet Union which has been diffident about projecting her influence in Italy and in China, will become very much less diffident in the matter of Germany. Soviet Russia's recent interest in Spain and in the Vatican is evidence of this. Spain and the Vatican are the ladder of escape for leading Nazis and Russia has a deadly intent with regard to those Nazis. We know some American people who have missed the point of the Nazis; but the Russian people could not very well miss it. They experienced it in their flesh. *The Soviet Union will not permit her Allies to deal with Germany as they have dealt with Italy.* This is, we believe, the basic consideration in attempting to anticipate what will happen when the Allies actually begin to see their way out of the period of destructive warfare and begin to take on the duties of occupation and administration of Germany.

Strength must be added to good and taken from evil. The whole question of whether or not it is desirable that Germany be strong or weak hangs on the other question: will Germany be good or bad? Some readers will at once leap to their feet and cry Germany can never be good. Germany must be exterminated root and branch. With these readers we cannot sympathize. We do not even believe in the reality of their emotional outburst. The German people are guilty. But if they deserve destruction because they were misled by the Nazis and because they believed the Nazi lie that it was saving them from Communism and leading them to national glory then the British ruling class from 1933 to 1939 was exactly as guilty and those American industrialists and religionists (from the Catholics right on down to the Quakers) who spoke well of Hitler's New Order and of Mussolini's New Order were just as guilty as the German people and should therefore also be destroyed. Dr. Shuster, president of Hunter College, on this reasoning would come in for a terribly severe punishment because he wrote in 1933 (COMMONWEAL, September 1) that Rome in destroying her own German Center Party and in opening its portals to the Hitlerites had reason on her side. This pragmatism of the devil stalking the earth in the clothes of the absolute God is not exclusively German. It is inter-racial and inter-faith.

So is its opposite. Germans died in the International Brigade fighting Franco. Germans in their millions were tortured and died in the concentration camps of Hitler. On this matter of Germany we have been heterodox for a long time. Today when the Nazi power is on the brink of destruction it is time to speak out very clearly.

The myth of racial superiority is not exclusively German. The Germans are merely very thorough-going in their acceptance of the myth. Family pride and tribal pride and national pride are universal human characteristics. Most of the wars of the world have been waged between family dynasties. In Germany the national pride was whipped to madness by an insane man who was supported by German and non-German concentrations of spiritual and material power. One of the means of deflecting the people's attention from the real villains in their attempt will be to propagate the idea that *Nazism is an especially German thing, so it couldn't happen here.* This would be just another use of the racial red herring or scapegoat.

In comparison to other victims of their aggression, we in America have not suffered greatly from the Germans and it is therefore not ours to forgive the Germans. The Russians have suffered greatly from the Germans and it is theirs to forgive or not to forgive according as they find it in their hearts and minds to do. Of course there can be no doubt in their minds as to the responsibility of the German people for the destruction wrought by their armies throughout Europe and especially Russia. To bring the German people face to face with this destruction and with the necessity of their helping to rebuild what has been destroyed is not to act in an unfriendly manner toward the German people. It would not be an act of friendship to allow the German people to pick up their own lives as they were before 1933 and to skip the years 1933 to 1945. It is better that they be taught life the hard way than not to be taught at all. *German industry and the German people must do their share in rebuilding the Europe destroyed by the Nazis.* But the point we wish to make is that Germany is an object of particular interest to the Russians not merely because of Russia's suffering at the hands of the Germans or because Germans must help rebuild Russia but also because Germany herself may surprise the world by insisting on doing this very thing. Elements of goodness may appear in Germany to which Russia may add strength so that these good German elements will aid the world in the final destruction of evil in Germany.

THE PROTESTANT believes that the German people will as suddenly emerge from their insanity as they entered into it. We go further and say that one of the keys to the world's future will be a Germany self-released from its nationalist hell, self-freed from its racist insanity, back again with its feet on the common earth, free once more to serve the world with its incomparable gifts of mind and imagination.

This we believe will happen because Soviet influence will prevent us from frustrating Partisan resistance in Germany as we have frustrated it and continue to frustrate it in other parts of Western Europe.

THE PERENNIAL DR. NIEBUHR

No one has more fun with his own mind than Reinhold Niebuhr and it is a delight to watch it float through the air with the greatest of ease, flashing and twisting so brilliantly for all to see. I did not follow Niebuhr in his early days and so don't know exactly when he began really to enjoy his own acrobatics, but I picked up a book of his some years ago, "Moral Man and Immoral Society." The title itself showed the way Niebuhr's mind works. He likes to deal with opposites. You see him going one way and suddenly you realize that he was just getting ready to swing back in the other direction. This is what dazzles and sometimes perplexes. His latest book has the same kind of a title, "The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness." As you read it you find that the children of light apparently do as much or more to bring about evil than the children of darkness. It seems that the children of light are infected with a too great confidence in their particular kind of light. Pride makes them enamoured of their insight and thereby sentimental or Utopian. Then when the inevitable disillusionment comes along they become cynical and pessimistic. He applies this to the facile optimism of the modern secular liberal, the man who believes in progress, in sanitation, in the miracles of medicine and all the gadgets of civilization. He

also applies it to the Marxians who didn't anticipate the rise of a managerial power-caste.

"The Marxists, too, are children of light. Their provisional cynicism does not even save them from the usual stupidity, nor from the fate, of other stupid children of light. That fate is to have their creed become the vehicle and instrument of the children of darkness. A new oligarchy is arising in Russia, the spiritual characteristics of which can hardly be distinguished from those of the American "go-getters" of the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. And in the light of history Stalin will probably have the same relation to the early dreamers of the Marxist dreams which Napoleon has to the liberal dreamers of the eighteenth century."

Niebuhr is worth listening to. I suspect, however, that Stalin whether or not he would express it theologically is thoroughly well aware of the need for constant self-criticism, not merely of people but of parties and programs. I think I read somewhere in a history of the Bolshevik party that Stalin said that the Bolsheviks must keep in touch with the people and with the people's needs or they would be removed from the stage of history. That was a pretty good standard of criticism. It could have been stolen bodily from the New Testament. Yet, as I say, the builders of the New Russia will heed the evil prophecy and see to it that it does not come true. Thus far Niebuhr's scolding may have value. But it carries harm too as all evil prophecy carries harm. For with this conviction in mind Niebuhr (and the considerable body of opinion he influences) will tend always to interpret events in favor of his conviction. He will find it difficult to be fair to the intention of the Soviet Union.

Niebuhr is right as far as he goes in saying that whenever you do something well you are going to fall in love with your way of doing it, and that whatever you do you can never do it *quite* right. Your deed will always leave *something* to be desired. It can never be perfect. *But the truth is that some things that you do are in a very important sense perfect.* The word perfect comes from the Latin, to be carried through, to be finished, and sometimes when you do something you say, "By the Lord Harry, that's it!" It clicked. There may have been a lot of little things with regard to your deed that wouldn't be perfect in the other modern sense of the word, that is, *smooth, mathematically flawless*. But that isn't what Jesus meant when He said, "Be ye perfect." He meant something like "*carried through right out of this world.*" Modern kids understand this better than our great theologians. They don't always use the word correctly. But they are nearer to the truth when they say of a tune, "It was right out of this world," "It sent me." Niebuhr's attempt to express this thing is where Niebuhr fails and I believe he fails because he doesn't quite comprehend what he is talking about. He explains it this way:

"The Christian faith finds the final clue to the meaning of life and history in the Christ whose goodness is at once the virtue which man ought, but does not, achieve in history, and the revelation of a divine mercy which understands and resolves the perpetual contradictions in which history is involved, even on the highest reaches of human achievements. From the standpoint of such a faith it is possible to deal with the ultimate social problem of human history: the creation of community in world dimensions. The insistence of the Christian faith that the love of Christ is the final norm of human existence must express itself socially in unwillingness to stop short of the whole human community in expressing our sense of moral responsibility for the life and welfare of others. The understanding of the Christian faith that the highest achieve-

ments of human life are infected with sinful corruption will help men to be prepared for new corruptions on the level of world community which drive simpler idealists to despair. The hope of Christian faith that the divine power which bears history can complete what even the highest human striving must leave incomplete, and can purify the corruptions which appear in even the purest human aspirations, is an indispensable prerequisite for diligent fulfillment of our historic tasks. Without it we are driven to alternate moods of sentimentality and despair; trusting human powers too much in one moment and losing all faith in the meaning of life when we discover the limits of human possibilities."

This is not an interpretation. This *needs* an interpretation. Dr. Niebuhr does not here make clear what religion can do for the world builders. Indeed, when he speaks of "the hope of Christian faith that the divine power which bears history can complete . . . and can purify . . ." he is guilty of the same obscurantism which in another passage he charges with corrupting the profundities of the faith. These profundities are known to every person who fulfills himself in his work, that is, to every true worker.

Mysticism, which is the essence of religion, is not mysteriousness, nor is it mystification. It is as simple and as comfortable and as truly exciting as a child suckling its mother. Its profundity is not in a Christ pushed out of the warm circle of humanity. It is in humanity itself whose light the Nazarene took out from under such theological bushels and put where it may be seen. Man will never come aware of himself and grow to his full stature if we keep on shovelling his achievements into "Christ" or any other formulation of divinity. Jesus came to teach this very thing and when He found His disciples leaning too heavily upon Him, He said, "It's better I go away from you!" So it is better we let Him go away once in awhile. So we can try out some things on our own, as He would wish it. No master likes slavish pupils. The true master begets masters.

Niebuhr misses the true meaning of the actual achievements of men. He piles all these achievements into Christ whose goodness is the virtue which man does not achieve in history. But men *have achieved* in history. Jesus himself was man's achievement and the Taj Mahal and the Parthenon and the Rose Window and any letter in the Book of Kells and "He Never Said a Mumblin' Word" and the schooner Bluenose and millions and millions of things we know and don't know. Jesus is the scapegoat of Niebuhr's thought as he has been the scapegoat of many theologians' thought which was lame and halting when it came to consider men and their incarnations and their thrustings through from their lives as created beings, to their lives as creative beings.

Niebuhr is right as far as he goes, but the little distance he does not go is a tragic distance. The word is one of Niebuhr's favorites and I hesitate to encroach upon it, but the tragedy (shall I say the perennial tragedy) of Niebuhr's theology is that he comes over and over again within an ace of making the mystic affirmation and falls short. However, he lands in the net and in no time is up the ladder and into the air again, graceful, swift and most admirable.

A NOTE ON CARTELS

There is a sense in which the cartel movement is not merely not an extension of the monopoly movement but is actually a curtailment or brake on that movement. The monopoly is a rationalization of business whose chief aim is profit but in

which the profit aim is integrated at many points with the service aim. The cartel is a method of avoiding the rationalization of business through artificial arrangements or understandings.

For instance a great number of telephone companies might form a cartel and make arrangements as to price, territory, pooling of new gadgets as they came out. They wouldn't necessarily use the new gadgets. They could put them away in a safe place. To make a monopoly, however, of those large number of telephone companies is a much more serviceable thing to do from the point of view of the public which uses the telephone. The monopoly, it is true, raises prices, but in it is the advantage of single control and planning and it is *in the public eye*. Its offices and control may be found in one place. Being in the public eye it must employ public relations experts to regularize it with the public *and it must actually perform services in a highly efficient manner*. It becomes a respected, looked-up-to member of the community, obligated to the community, proud of its service to the community. The public may even spur it at times to progress, to take out some of its gadgets from their hiding place and make them available. In other words the monopoly is on one side of its development at any rate a natural growth of the rationalization begun by the industrial revolution. The cartel on the other hand is to a certain degree in its very nature a regressive movement of big business.

* * *

It is not hard to stand up before a network microphone and scold Hitler, Goebbels, Himmler et al. It would be harder to stand up and name the bankers and cartel trustees who paid these villains and who are therefore the real villains. This might likely be because these same villains pay the radio station. The famous memo may be recalled which was sent down from the business office of one of the big networks saying that cartels are not news, lay off the Standard Oil Company. Now Standard Oil was involved in a cartel arrangement with I. G. Farben (See *Patents for Hitler* by G. Reiman and *Germany's Master Plan* by C. A. Welsh and Joseph Borkin), and according to Albert Norden (German Cartel-Kings, *FREE WORLD*, October, 1944) Farben financed the leaders of the Nazis in their Spanish adventure, thus helping to put Franco's heel on the necks of the Spanish people; helped the Fascist Ionescu of the Romanian Fascist Iron Guard; and today through Hitler "rules the entire chemical and dye industry of the European Continent." These are only a few things they did, according to Mr. Norden, but they are enough to show why the swashbuckling commentators of the networks hesitate to name the real villains in the piece and prefer to utter blood-curdling threats against the gangsters who carry out their will. The kindly gentlemen, associated with world finance, whose polished shoes would avoid stepping on a worm, are always ready to exclaim "that beast Hitler!" They conveniently forget that Hitler was their associate, that they paid Hitler. They took up with the Nazis in order to carry their rationalizations of the economic life of Europe, if not of the world, into the political realm. They hoped to unify the economic and political fields. Their plans fitted nicely with the plans of the Vatican which were to unite the spiritual life of Europe upon the Nazi-cartel political-economic foundation. It looked like a sound proposition.

Until 1939 Hitler did well by his employers, but he lost his head when he attacked Poland and aroused the sleeping conscience of the English people. Then his employers knew that he had made a terrible mistake, after which there was but one thing to do, namely, plunge into the ultimate gamble and attack the Soviet Union on the chance that English capital and the American hierarchy would be

able to restrain the Anglo-American people from war on the Germans who were fighting a "holy war" against Bolshevism. But the British people knew and the American people learned that it was Bolshevism which was fighting a holy war against Germany. At any rate it becomes quite proper for the gentlemen with the polished shoes to scold Hitler, not so much for being a beast as for being obvious about it. According to Albert Norden, Farben is now working South America from Argentina all the way up to Mexico, having been hand in glove with the Nazi party and its spies. According to Senator Kilgore some of these cartelists have just concluded a very hush-hush conference at Rye, N. Y., at which he fears were hatched plans for post-war cartelization of the world. *Unless an absolute divorce can be brought about between Farben and its cartel associates in America, we cannot hope for an honest and complete victory in this war.*

STATE SCHOOLS STARVE

Three hundred children of all races gather every Saturday afternoon at the Horace Mann-Lincoln School in New York for recreative study to be followed by discussion. The children are not supposed to know it (if I know children, however, they will catch on) but they are to be "an experiment in democracy," the general idea being to promote better inter-racial and international relations.

No doubt we should clap our hands and say how nice! And it is nice. It is perfectly grand but it has nothing to do with the solution of the problems of inter-minority tensions. It is of a piece with the so-called Springfield Plan and all its thousand and one variations throughout the country which in effect say to our people "Look at this particular schoolroom, this is the way to create good-will!" whereas the people should look straight at those schoolrooms which are suppurating hate daily and hourly into the social blood stream. Of course those who are interested in spreading hate will be glad enough to have these particular exhibits to which everyone will point. The hate merchants will point at them too because that will keep everybody's eyes diverted from their hate factories. Nearly a half century ago I attended a public school in a suburb of Boston. In that school this same experiment was going forward as today in Lincoln School. I believe most public schools, if let alone, and if attended by all the children of the state, would perforce teach inter-minority understanding. But our public schools are boycotted by church snobs on the one hand and social snobs on the other. They are "not good enough" for little Algernon Smythe III and they are not holy enough for little Aloysius Murphy. So they are left in the middle, lost and forlorn, under all kinds of pressure to get along cheaper "because the taxes are so high" and to get what they call religion, which means church instruction. The public school in America is on the way down and will soon be on the way out unless the heirs of the state school nourish their inheritance. It is starving to death.

WE MUST DESTROY SPANISH FASCISM!

Editorial by JAMES M. FREEMAN

Spanish Fascism came into being and continues to exist only by means of foreign support. Such support has come both from the Axis powers and from the combination of Vatican, British and American interests inimical to democracy.

On the surface there is little indication that Spanish Fascism, with or without Franco in the spotlight, will not continue to receive official British and American

assistance. The incidents in connection with the Spanish Maquis who penetrated into Spain from liberated France during October 1944 served not just as a test of Franco's defenses. They served also as a test of post-Vichy American and British policy toward Spain. In the test our governments were found as wanting as they were between 1936 and 1939. Anti-Fascist Spaniards, heroes in mankind's struggle against slavery, are still treated as outcasts.

This being the case, Spain will be (by the grace of London and Washington) a base from which the peace is sabotaged before it is born. Spain is a way-station for Nazi agents and capital moving under Spanish names to the dark places of the Western Hemisphere. The Nazi-directed Falange continues to build the Fascist movement in Latin America. This is one way in which Spanish Fascism aborts the peace. Spain is also the key country in the plans of that clerical Fascism which is determined to have an anti-Bolshevist bloc of States in Europe (a so-called Catholic Bloc) from which the stranglers of the people can reach for the throat of man again. This is another way in which Spain is a source of post-war disunity and eventual war.

There is of course a democratic force which could be used to eliminate this source of evil. There are many indications that the Spanish people themselves hate Spanish Fascism for what it is and that they have formed the underground organization necessary for its overthrow. Early in November over five hundred delegates from all anti-Franco groups in Spain and France met in Toulouse and adopted a six-point program which when realized would put Spain on our side and on the side of the peace.

What this movement of the Spanish people lacks is a green light and supplies from official America and Britain.

It has the green light of the Soviet Union, which sees Spanish Fascism right where it is—in the enemy camp.

This leaves official Washington and London collaborating with the enemy by way of Spain and assisting in the abortion of the peace.

Needless to say, nothing could be further from the desires of the people of United States and Britain, not to mention the people of Spain. But the popular support for the restoration of Spanish democracy will continue to be frustrated by the influence wielded by a minority of investors, conservative politicians and Vatican-directed ecclesiastics. It will continue to be frustrated until . . .

Until that which is now happening elsewhere in Europe becomes fully manifest.

In spite of reactionary and pro-Vatican politicians something is happening in Europe. Fascism is being defeated in Europe. In the process the power of the people is being restored. This people's front democracy had its rebirth in the liberation movements—in the Partisan movements. It is the constructive dynamic of the common people of Europe. In it the millions are having the final word about the top-dog traitors who sold them into the slavery of German, Italian and native Fascism.

This rearticulation of the people of Europe is intelligible to the people of United States and Britain. Its voice may sound like chaos to the supporters of Spanish Fascism, but it makes sense to the rest of us. Part of its sense will be to frustrate the frustrators of the Spanish people. Representative John M. Coffee voices such commonsense now in his resolution calling for a break with Franco and aid to the Spanish Republicans.

Because of this swelling torrent of thoroughly anti-Fascist democracy, Churchill and Roosevelt are going to be faced with a situation in which they can no longer play along with the supporters of Spanish Fascism.

ANTI-SEMITISM IN PHILADELPHIA

By BEN RICHARDSON

MRS. MARTHA BARTON sits staring out of the window of her Philadelphia home. Hers is a sorrow too deep for tears. A few days ago she received a telegram from the War Department notifying her of the death of her son William. He was her only boy. They had plans for their tomorrows. She had dreams of his successes . . . now . . .

As she sat tugging at these frayed ends of her hopes, the doorbell rang. It was the two, staccato rings of the postman. Mrs. Barton hurried to the door. It could be a letter retracting the telegram—a letter denying William's death. The telegram could have been one of the frequent errors made when soldiers are lost and later found.

Mrs. Barton was disillusioned in a moment . . . the letter carried a local postmark. Driven by sheer nervous momentum she ripped the letter open and read:

"We the Jewish nation, trust you have a happy holiday. If your dear ones were not with you, be consoled and happy in the knowledge that they were doing their duty to save God's chosen people. In their sacrifices they have made it possible to keep Jewish boys and girls here at home and the wheels of industry turning. Should they never return, take pride in the fact that they died to save the Jews."

Thousands of letters like the above are sent to gentile families in Philadelphia a day or two after the names of their relatives appear in the casualty lists released to newspapers by the War Department.

The intention of the sender is clear. They want the bereaved to feel Jews are to blame for the death of their loved ones. Responsible authorities are confident that this anti-Semitic outrage is the handiwork of a vicious organization called the Blue Star Mothers, who will be discussed later in this article.

The level to which human hatred can descend as evidenced by this letter, begs description, but there are other incidents that occur in Philadelphia which surpass this as examples of human villainy against an oppressed minority. Children and adults bear the brunt of the anti-Semites' wrath. Here are a few cases in point.

When Jewish youngsters trot off to school in the morning there is no certainty that they will arrive there unmolested or at all. Their return home is just as precarious.

Early in the year thirty Christian hoodlums attacked a small group of Jewish boys as they were leaving a skating rink in Germantown,

Pa. The assailants asked the routine question: "Are you Jews?" They didn't wait for answers, instead they viciously set upon the Jewish children with fists and deadly weapons. One Jewish child was kicked in the groin until he lost consciousness. Another had his skull bashed in with an iron pipe. A third was severely bruised. All were brutally thrashed by the gang.

May and June of this year were open season on Jewish children in Philadelphia. During May three Jewish pupils of the Pennypacker School were attacked by eight students of the St. Athanasius Parochial School. One child sustained a broken wrist. Another had his face buried in a pile of smoldering leaves. The families of the children talked the matter over and the Jewish parents were advised to say no more about it.

The Furness Junior Evening High School conducted a recreation canteen on Mondays and Wednesdays throughout the Spring. For awhile things worked well. Philadelphia racists then got on the job and conflicts soon arose. A group of Irish boys between the ages of fifteen and twenty years ganged some of the Negroes on the way from the canteen and beat them. As a result the colored children refused to go to the canteen. The school and police authorities investigated the incident, assured the Negroes all was peaceful again, and asked them to return. They did but were again mobbed and severely beaten. In both instances none of the attackers was apprehended.

A few weeks later the same gang of Irish youths beat up the Jewish children who attended the canteen. Today Negroes do not go there any longer. The enemy has won half of his battle. Continued attacks against the Jewish children are expected momentarily.

Enter an adult anti-Semite: A young Jewish boy reported to his draft board around noon of April 15. The youth had sustained a back injury in childhood and suffered severe after-effects of the mishap because of an incomplete union of the vertebrae in his spine. X-rays taken by a private physician showed that such a condition prevailed. The youth asked to see the Colonel in charge of the Medical Department. He was permitted to do so. When he showed the X-rays to the examining officer, the boy reports the officer said: "Your race ought to be sent back to Europe!" Like so many abused Jewish youngsters in the face of seeming authority the boy said nothing. The

officer continued his tirade: "That's why they are persecuted; because they are always trying to get out of something." Before the boy could muster sufficient courage to reply, the officer turned to a civilian attendant, and according to the boy, said: "Take this bitch upstairs." The attention of a responsible Jewish organization was called to the incident but nothing was done about it.

Because of mounting racial tension the authorities saw fit to close the Jay Cooke Junior High School Canteen on the evening of May 9. On May 10 a fight took place outside of the canteen between Jewish and gentile children. On May 11, forty-three gentile boys were arrested. Half of them were armed with deadly weapons, blackjacks, lead pipes, knives and a twenty-five inch bayonet. Four different organized gangs were involved. Christians and Jews were subsequently arrested by the police and both were found to be armed. The hasty action of the police prevented further violence.

As a final gesture to close out the month of May in good anti-Semitic fashion, on the evening of the 29th five gentile boys robbed and beat three younger Jewish boys. A familiar stratagem was employed. The five thrashed each of the Jewish children separately.

Anti-Semites, young and old, however, found no difficulty sustaining their program of annoyance and violence throughout the entire year. In the months intervening between May and November the enemy kept very active on the propaganda front.

Literature designed to crystallize hatred of Jews was printed and distributed at large in Philadelphia. Because such printing is not a statutory offense the police contend they are helpless to prevent it. Therefore the letter quoted in the beginning of this article and the following samples enjoy general distribution. Many hands offer to help distribute it.

Members of the Coast Guard Station near Philadelphia received typewritten copies of a salacious anti-Semitic bit of doggerel entitled "The Marines Hymn." Investigation traced the distribution to a Coast Guard officer who on questioning said he saw no harm in the hymn.

An obscene poem first printed in Minneapolis, is circularized in washrooms in Philadelphia defense industries suggesting that war workers take time off to go to the washroom in order to cut down on the Jewish profits.

A pamphlet entitled, "Believe It Or Not" argues the old America First bromides about President Roosevelt being a Jew: It goes on

to say, "Roosevelt proclaimed an unlimited national emergency not to save the British Empire nor America, but to save world Jewry." Huge bundles of this literature were traced to a warehouse and a small shop in Philadelphia. The material originates in Maryland, but an old respected Philadelphia family long since in the business of peddling hate has been pointed to as the source of its distribution.

The mails in Philadelphia are freely used for the dissemination of anti-Semitic publicity. Threatening letters are sent to prominent Jewish businessmen accusing them of black market transactions. The letters read in part: "Why did the Red Cross select your synagogue as headquarters for the 32nd Ward? Because all Jews are crooks, cheats, and thieves, and so is the Red Cross. Hate drove the Jews out of Europe and we are going to drive you out of this country." The letter hastens on to discuss the Jewish Palestine question. "The Arabs do not want you in Palestine. You are a hated and despised race. The feeling against the stinking Jews is just as bitter in America as Germany." The writer then attests to his great patriotic spirit in these concluding words. "I am an American and I hope to see every lousy Jew driven out of this country." And as if in benediction, this: "You Jews crucified our Lord. So you will be crucified."

One of the most flagrant examples of mature anti-Semitism is a shame-provoking incident which has become a *cause celebre* for anti-fascist fighters in Philadelphia.

On Thursday, September 7, 1944, Presidential Candidate Thomas E. Dewey launched his unsuccessful campaign. He delivered his opening speech in Philadelphia's Convention Hall.

After the speech Governor Dewey and his followers sped to the 30th Street Railroad Station to entrain for Louisville, Ky. The crowd that followed the Candidate to the station had mixed views on his eligibility for the office of President. Some cheered wildly, others booed, with equal vigor.

Morris Anmuth, 29, a West Philadelphia businessman—and a Republican, was in the station. He cupped his hands around his mouth and roarsously voiced his disapproval of Mr. Dewey.

The inspector in charge of the police escort for the distinguished visitor dispatched an officer to go over to Anmuth and silence him.

The officer was joined by another and together Policemen Samuel Ralston and James McCarthy hustled Anmuth from the station. McCarthy arrested him before effecting his removal. A statement from Anmuth's attorney, George S. Pressman, says one police-

man struck Anmuth in the back of the head and the other savagely thrust his knee into his back. The statement further says . . . A portion of the crowd followed the two officers and their prisoners but they were blocked at the doors of the station by three other policemen. Officers McCarthy and Ralston took Anmuth across the taxicab driveway to the island opposite—carried him into the most shadowed part of it. Here the two officers are accused of viciously beating their prisoner. Anmuth claims other policemen joined in the assault upon him but he could only identify the two named. His pleas for mercy and his hysterical weeping as the officers pummeled him were of no avail, witnesses say.

Anmuth testified that as Officer McCarthy drove his fist into him he said, "You Jew bastard—it's your kind that started this war." While clouting him, Anmuth declares Officer Ralston shouted, "If this was Germany we wouldn't hit you—we would kill you."

Shortly after this Anmuth stood with swollen face—deep gashes in his forehead and dripping blood, before Magistrate Jules Forstein in the 39th Street and Lancaster Avenue Magistrate's Court. He was fined ten dollars for disorderly conduct. Two other charges of inciting to riot and resisting arrest were dismissed.

In protest to this obvious miscarriage of justice, Anmuth had the two offending officers arrested. They appeared before Magistrate James A. McBride on a private warrant of assault and battery.

At this hearing witnesses testified that the officers mercilessly beat Anmuth. Policeman McCarthy brandished a bandaged hand in which two bones were broken while administering the beating to his prisoner. McCarthy admitted striking Anmuth. Magistrate McBride held the two Officers for Court on one thousand dollars bail each, and concluded the action with a strong statement condemning anti-Semitism.

Officers McCarthy and Ralston retaliated and had Anmuth re-arrested on one of the originally dismissed charges namely inciting to riot. This action was designed to cancel the effect of Anmuth's case against them. The trials have not come up yet.

In the interim, Kenneth Leslie, Editor of THE PROTESTANT, and National Chairman of its Regional Action Groups, and the writer, the National Executive Secretary of these groups, took the case to the Philadelphia Committee of THE PROTESTANT. Immediate action followed. A meeting was arranged with Superintendent of Police Howard P. Sutton. A delegation of the Philadelphia Regional Action Committee protested the anti-Semitism in this

case. A report of this meeting appeared in the *Philadelphia Record*, Thursday, November 16. An ad informing the public of the particulars in this case and signed by members of the Philadelphia Committee of THE PROTESTANT, appeared in the *Philadelphia Record*, Friday, November 24. The Regional Action Committee is determined to see justice done in this instance of police brutality and anti-Semitism.

Superintendent Sutton gave the ministers very positive assurance that he would not tolerate bigotry of any sort in the Police Department. At this writing the Anmuth case is crystallizing public opinion in the fight against racialism.

Philadelphia is the spawning ground for anti-American organizations. They find sanctuary and much support in the city that has been the treasury of American independence through the years. The most notorious of such groups is the Crusading Mothers or the Blue Star Mothers (they carry both names on their stationery). This hate-provoking organization is headed by Mrs. Catherine Brown and Mrs. Lillian Parks and has Philadelphia as its national headquarters. In this group are to be found the remnants of the America Firsters, the German-American Bund, and anyone else who boasts a common hatred of the Administration, Jews, Negroes and such other people as they consider their enemies. It is the Blue Star Mothers who periodically invite the arch racist Gerald L. K. Smith to speak for them in Philadelphia. Police records show that prior to and immediately after Mr. Smith's speeches the community suffers great waves of anti-Semitic outrages.

As is the case of other tension areas throughout America, Jewish holy places are attacked in Philadelphia. The Mikveh Cemetery was desecrated; the Temple Judea Synagogue had its windows shattered repeatedly; the Ahavath Israel Synagogue was marred and many Jewish businesses have been frequently ransacked.

It is estimated that approximately three hundred Jewish establishments were broken into and looted during the Philadelphia Transit strike last summer. The looters were Negroes for the most part, although there is evidence to show that Jewish stores were broken into in communities where Negroes were not apparent during the disturbance.

How are these outrages possible in Philadelphia? The answer is simple. Anti-Semitism has had a long and ignominious history in that city. Racial bigotry is the accepted attitude of great sections of Philadelphia's non-Jewish citizenry. Violence and abuse are com-

mon occurrences. The police are reasonably vigilant and a few arrests are made, but for the most part perpetrators are not apprehended. This failure to ferret out those who persecute Jews or Negroes does not indicate police inefficiency, but rather their failure to seriously evaluate the threat of racism in their city. They underestimate the effectiveness of the enemy. The Philadelphia newspapers only occasionally carry accounts of racial outbreaks and the public for the most part is sorely uninformed of the machinations of bigots in their midst.

The elements that license and provoke anti-Semitism in Philadelphia constitute an amalgam of motley forces that would otherwise be at loggerheads with each other. They are agreed, however, in their mutual hatred of the Jew. Among the more prominent units in this group are: Protestant un-American organizations, Irish and Italian Catholics, clergy and laity, anti-Semitic members of the police force, anti-Semitic Jews who find it convenient to go along with the enemy; and Negroes, who by dint of will or propaganda, hate and persecute Jews.

In the face of these conditions Jews and other minorities are helpless. There is no one to whom they can turn for positive sanctuary and no one from whom they may expect definite action in their behalf. This condition is

an indictment of the Jewish and gentile civic, social and religious agencies in Philadelphia. Jews are discriminated against in labor and employment and Jewish organizations cooperating with the police who have full files on such outrages categorically refuse to expose these evils.

Philadelphia has all the potentialities of becoming another Boston or Cambridge. Reticence on the part of the police force to recognize the impending conflicts will hasten outbreaks. Cowardly hush-hush policies followed by Jewish and non-Jewish organizations give license to those who persecute. The reluctance on the part of the gentile ministry of both Catholic and Protestant faiths to act against the enemy gives him added encouragement. In a word, vigilance, exposure and legal prosecution are the basic guarantors of the safety of minorities in Philadelphia. Anything less will spell social, religious and political havoc.

This danger becomes all the more apparent when we consider the social and economic problems which reconversion to peacetime life will cause. Organized Fascist groups are already amassing their numbers to persecute minorities. . . . Jews and Negroes are first on their lists.

The importance of exposing and prosecuting them is urgent to the preservation of freedom.

* * *

It will surprise some of our apologists for brave little Finland to read the following dispatch to the New York Times by George Axelson from Sweden: "Some units of the Finnish White Guard Militia, established in 1918 as the backbone of the Army and dissolved by Parliamentary action in accordance with the Russian armistice clause banning fascist and pro-Nazi organizations, have refused to be disarmed and have challenged the Government to take their weapons." Here we have undeniable evidence that at the very center of the Finnish Army there was and remains a fascist core. This is what the Russians have contended from the beginning. This is the thing in Finland that Russia has been fighting against and which the Western democracies were defending. It is encouraging indeed for the future of the world that the Western democracies are supporting the Russian demand for disarming the Finnish White Guard.

In contrast, there can be nothing but consternation over the disarming of the anti-fascist partisans in Belgium, Greece, France and Italy. In each case the action appears to be in the interest of collaborationists and reactionary groups. Particularly so in Belgium, where the Pierlot government has been shown to be closely linked with a powerful cartel—the Societe Generale de Belgique.

WHO IS OBNOXIOUS?

by ARTHUR REX

THE WORD obnoxious boomerangs with terrific force on Christian whites. Daily they fling it at Jews and Negroes and daily it flies back with redoubled strength.

It is by their acts that we know men and when the acts of Christian whites toward the people they slander are looked at honestly, they reek with obnoxiousness. The rub is that Christian whites long have been blinded by the arrogant gall characteristic of aggressive ruling groups and cannot see themselves for what they are. So they pile it on thick as they throw "obnoxious" around, adding such epithets as "loud-mouthed", "uppity", "forward", "aggressive," "dirty," "smelly," "grasping," "cunning", "cheating." Psychologists, who study what is behind such talk, call it projection, which means the unloading of offensive traits on some other group.

In every discussion or argument about Jews and Negroes two questions pop up sooner or later. "Would you marry a Negro or Jew?" "What about their obnoxiousness?" The first is supposed to floor anyone who presumes to defend these minorities. The second is meant to remind one that it is their own fault that Jews and Negroes aren't treated any better.

The matter of obnoxiousness is brought in regardless of the cultural and social level of the people doing the talking.

Learned college professors patronizingly tell what Jews ought and ought not do. Vociferous believers in Christianity and democracy spout liberal platitudes and hedge them with "buts" and "ifs." Plain folk, uninformed and miseducated as they are, simply don't know what they're talking about. While hoodlums vent their hate in an outpouring of profanity.

But who is obnoxious?

Certainly a white restaurant owner is pretty obnoxious when he throws out a hungry Negro who respectfully has ordered a meal.

When whites beat up a colored youth for not getting off the sidewalk or not saying "Yes, sir" or not tipping his cap, or when a gang of Christians pummel a boy because his name happens to be Jewish, they surely are obnoxious.

It is fiendishly obnoxious when white Christians torture and kill Negroes in a lynching party or when they slaughter Jews in a pogrom.

White Christians wax odious with foul words just as with loathsome deeds. Words like "nigger", "dinge", "coon", "kike", "sheeny," "Christ-killer" and the unprintable curses that often accompany them revolt decent ears.

On university campuses on registration day "cultured" professors have been heard muttering "kike" with sadistic relish after signing cards of students having Jewish names. Other instructors in more polite terms deprecate the presence of "undesirables from New York." On one occasion a professor sneeringly asked a Jewish boy whether he was orthodox. The poor youngster winced and replied humbly that he was not.

What could be more basically obnoxious than the deliberate denial of work to capable Jews and Negroes and so taking away from them the right to make a living? The white practice of forcing colored people regardless of their training and skills into the most dirty and miserable jobs at the lowest wages is positively hateful to the poor folks victimized by it.

When the ruling group won't let Negroes or Jews live in decent homes, it's quite annoying, to say the least, to folks left out in the cold. The mob that stopped Negroes from moving into a Federal housing project in Detroit was decidedly an obnoxious bunch of whites. The landlords, hotel-keepers, and rooming-house operators who rent only to white Christians must be repellent indeed to the homeless people they turn away.

Educators regardless of their urbane exteriors must appear repulsive to Negroes and Jews to whom they refuse educational opportunities supposedly open to all. Segregation of Negroes into shack-like schools and quota restrictions on Jews must be galling to ambitious and intelligent youths of colored or Hebrew ancestry. At a college committee session a professor was asked why his university alma mater put up quotas against Jews. He replied smugly that the place would be overrun by Jews. He couldn't see the irony of the place being overrun by Gentiles. Once at a general faculty meeting when the problem of attracting more students to the institution was discussed, someone suggested that colored students be allowed to enroll. (The school was a northern state college but it unofficially barred Negroes.) The rumble of disapproval almost floored the instructor who had dared to venture the suggestion. It dwindled into mutterings, mumblings, and whisperings some of which sounded like under-the-breath swearing. The president (who in speech and writing exhorted the campus to Christian and democratic virtues) settled the matter by say-

ing it would do the Negroes more harm than good to come to the college.

Being barred from social groups because of imputed unfitness must be very offensive to Jews and Negroes. Fraternities, sororities, trade unions, clubs, and associations brazenly draw the line on eligible persons for no other reason than skin color and religion. The superior airs of white Christian snobs no doubt incense those being lorded over.

A near-tragic case of sorority snobbery occurred on a midwestern university campus noted for its liberalism. A girl, whose one parent was Christian, the other Jewish, had transferred from a small college where she had been fully accepted as a sister in a Gentile sorority. The sorority was a national organization and the girl automatically changed to the university chapter upon registration. After some time the good sorority sisters discovered her part-Jewish parentage and eased her out of the house. Girl friends and boy friends dropped her like poison. The ordeal almost drove her crazy but she recovered after finding friends among independents and Jews of the campus.

But if white men disdain to have social relations with "inferiors," they have no scruples about carrying on sexual relations. Sexual exploitation of Negroes by whites is notorious, and it includes visiting prostitutes, keeping mistresses, and raping helpless girls. So obnoxious are white practices that Negroes have been known to complain that the whites take away all the attractive colored girls.

The "Keep Out" signs against Negroes and Jews set up before beaches, swimming pools, resorts, camps, movie houses, theaters, concert halls seem arrogantly spiteful to the people pushed away. When a group in an Ohio River town bought the public swimming pool and converted it into an exclusive club for white folks "just to keep the niggers out," they showed themselves to be quite uppity.

Pictures of Negroes and Jews as shown in the movies, on the stage, in cartoons, comic strips, and funny stories are plenty disgusting to these much abused people. The deplorable caricatures constitute a virtual propaganda of stereotyped lies and slanders, and the propaganda is spread by word of mouth. A funny story about a frugal Jew packs a sadistic sting; whereas a joke about a close Scotchman calls for genial amusement. Paul Robeson, it is reported, has been so repelled by the movie picturization of Negroes that he has refused to play any more film roles until the obnoxious practice is brought to a halt.

An example of how stereotyped thinking has blinded Gentiles comes from a university

dormitory where student married couples were living. Out of several Jewish couples in the group, one couple was loud and boisterous, the others were unusually quiet and well-mannered. But the Gentile majority pointed to the one pair as typical and as proof that Jews spoil living quarters for others. These good Christians completely overlooked the loud and boisterous couples among themselves!

For sheer gall the patronizing attitudes of white Gentiles probably outranks all their other obnoxious traits. On a crude level are uttered such remarks as "He's a good Jew" or "He's a good nigger" in reference to deferential Jews and Negroes, those who "know their place." On this level Gentiles often apply the term white man only to themselves. The Jew is not a "white man."

On an urbane level patronizing becomes suave and subtle. Especially good at this are liberal professors who display polite variants of the "keep-them-in-their-place" theme. One good man privately admonishes Jewish students to continue being soft-spoken and well-behaved and not to pattern after their "noisy" and "aggressive" brethren. Another advised Jewish students not to set up a fraternity or a Hillel Foundation because that would only make them more clannish and stir up more antagonism. He told them to wait and in time they would be admitted to the fraternity groups. The students figured they would have to wait until doomsday and went ahead to organize. For too long had they been shunned by the clannish Gentiles. Once organized, they were able to initiate intergroup academic and social programs and so considerably lessened antagonism.

In a book review in *American Sociological Review* a professor had the nerve to tell Jews that majorities could afford to display obnoxious traits but minorities could not. One standard for the strong, another for the weak!

A standard textbook in social psychology after analyzing Jew-Gentile relations, tells this story to illustrate the forward, overcritical, non-cooperative Jew. A young Jewish instructor, recently arrived on a university campus, complained bitterly of the inferiority of the staff of his department. Undoubtedly the story is true, but what about Gentiles who are forward, overcritical, and noncooperative?

If the learned and non-learned patronizing gentry actually lived the role of Negro or Jew in a hostile world, they might appreciate the position of these unfortunates. I began to really understand the Jew when for a period of time I was mistaken for one and let the mistake ride. It was truly revealing to feel

the sneers, slurs, insults, and innuendos that came my way, and it was just as enlightening to note the cessation of this social torture when I was found to be Gentile.

A Negro once confided to me the daily

gauntlet of abuse he had to run from the time he left his home in the morning until he returned at night. It was my first lesson on the obnoxiousness of us whites. We have a lot to learn about ourselves.

WORTH NOTING

—*Fascist Rats Escape Aided by Vatican-controlled Bank*

MONTEVIDEO, SEPT. 29 (ALN)—Key-placed Spanish Falangists have in recent months brought to Buenos Aires and deposited for their owners large Nazi fortunes in anticipation of the German collapse.

Through the excellent connections of a Spanish shipping company with the British consulate in Bilbao, Spain, the Falangists obtain navicerts for permits for the Nazis to travel to Montevideo and Buenos Aires without submitting to the rigid Anglo-American control in Trinidad. They also smuggle Nazis into the Americas by using faked Argentine, Spanish and Dutch passports. In addition, a number of Spanish Falangists are arriving in Argentina in the belief that Franco will be overthrown soon.

One of the key figures aiding the escape of Nazi war criminals to Latin America as well as depositing Nazi fortunes in Argentina is Alejandro Zubizarreta, technical director of Aznar and Co., a Spanish navigation company based in Bilbao.

Zubizarreta, according to these sources, was and is one of the main organizers of contraband shipments of strategic war materials from South America to Nazi Europe. His activities are backed by leading Falangists who arbitrarily expropriated Aznar and Co. from the Sota family, its legitimate owners, under the pretext that they were Basque separatists. The company is now controlled by an administrative council which includes Nicolas Franco, Spanish Ambassador to Portugal and a brother of dictator Francisco Franco.

Finally, the Banco Frances-Italiano in Buenos Aires is seen as one of the main agents for the Nazis in Argentina. The French share is an insignificant 12 per cent. *More than 40 per cent is owned by the Vatican.* The remainder is controlled by Italian fascists. The bank specializes in financial transactions with Italy and Switzerland.

MONTEVIDEO, OCT. 17 (ALN)—The British government last week ordered steamships operated by Aznar and Co. to stop at Trinidad for inspection.

Other sources state that every Spanish ship

sailing to the Americas now carries great numbers of alleged priests, so many that there is suspicion that they are really Falangist agents in disguise.

At the same time it is learned that the French director of the Banco Frances-Italiano in Buenos Aires, named Cavin, and the Italian director, named Malagadi, stated to the British Embassy in Buenos Aires that the Vatican holds 43 per cent of the bank's shares. The bank's transferences of doubtful origin, believed to be Nazi funds, were recently calculated at \$1,500,000,000 (6,000,000,000 Argentine pesos). Its Italian shareholders include the industrial firms of Fiat and Ansaldo and a half dozen leading fascists. The bank is on the Anglo-American blacklist.

Because of this, observers in Argentina are wondering why the administration of the Vatican's foreign assets is not put on the blacklist, especially since it controls the operations of this bank. Representatives of the Banco Frances-Italiano in Berne, Marseilles and Madrid have been carrying out fund transfers. The Marseilles branch operated throughout the Vichy-German control of the city.

* * *

MONTEVIDEO, Nov. 9 (ALN)—American and British diplomatic representatives have demanded of the Banco Frances-Italiano of Buenos Aires that it submit a complete report on its shareholders and financial transactions, it was learned here today.

At the same time it was reliably learned that the bank has deposited through intermediaries several million dollars for Benito Mussolini in Brazil. The latter action is said to have been carried out by its Buenos Aires branches, the Banca Commerciale Italiana and the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas. The Banco Frances-Italiano and all of its branches are on the United States blacklist.

Informants revealed that the directors of the bank hope that their administration of Vatican funds and the fact that the Vatican holds 43 percent of the bank's shares will enable them to hold up a thorough-going investigation.

STINNES BROTHERS GET OUT FROM UNDER

By ALBERT NORDEN

IN SEPTEMBER 1944, almost unnoticed by world publicity, the Messrs. Hugo Stinnes, Jr. and Otto Stinnes arrived in Stockholm from Germany in order to start negotiations with Allied finance-capitalistic circles.

The father of the Stinnes brothers, Hugo Stinnes, was one of the coal czars of the Ruhr. At the peak of his power, in 1923, Stinnes possessed 1,200 factories and firms with more than 600,000 workers. His holdings included 290 coal and 200 iron mines, 190 plants for the production of electrical power, a large merchant fleet, 285 banks and trading companies. He stretched out his greedy hands over all the world. He annexed the famous Austrian Ore Mountain and the six leading newspapers of Vienna. He acquired mines, oil and chemical enterprises in Rumania, factories and newspapers in Hungary, a ship-yard in Sweden, a railway-car factory in the Dutch East Indies, an aluminum factory in Naples and a considerable amount of land as well as mining concessions in Argentina.

He was undisputedly the richest man of the Old World with an estimated wealth of at least \$5,000,000,000.

Their American Companies

After his death the gigantic concern began to crumble. Those of the German coal mines which the sons managed to save were two years later consolidated into two American holding companies—the Hugo Stinnes Corporation and the Hugo Stinnes Industries, Inc. which is controlled by the former—both in Maryland. They own and control respectively in Germany the "Hugo Stinnes G.M.B.H.", the "Gewerkschaft Mathias Stinnes" and the "Muehlheimer Bergwerksverein" with a combined capital of 41 million Reichsmark (approximately \$16,400,000). There are specifically a series of coal mines in and around Essen and Rheinhausen in the Ruhr area with an annual production capacity of 7 million tons; important harbor installations in German ports on the Baltic and North Sea; 16 ocean steamers; 23 tug boats; 234 steel barges; and sales organizations in England, France, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and the U.S.A.

On the Board of Directors of the two American concerns were, together with the Americans mentioned later, Hugo Stinnes Jr., his wife Claire and his brother Otto. They remained in the Reich from where they took

part in the administration of the American concerns.

Stinnes and Hitler

In 1933 Hitler came to power. The Stinnes brothers did not get along badly with the man whom their father had so generously supported. Indeed, German historians of the Weimar Republic claim that the sons followed the example of their father and transferred considerable amounts of money to Hitler. They approved of the Nazi re-armament program by which they profited. They approved of the slaughter of German Democrats. They approved of the Jewish pogroms.

Hitler annexed Austria, the Sudeten, the rest of Czecho-Slovakia, Memel—he provoked Poland. War was just around the corner. What else could be expected but that the Stinnes brothers should have a conference on the methods of how best to keep the candle burning at both ends in case of a military conflict. It was necessary to keep up good connections with the Nazi authorities without losing touch with the American partners, even if a split between the Third Reich and the U. S. A. should occur.

Strange Passengers

In any case in 1939, two months before Hitler's attack on Poland, Edmund H. Stinnes, the eldest of the brothers, left Germany for England. And though at the outbreak of the war the "Munich" Neville Chamberlain threw all German anti-Nazi refugees into concentration camps, Edmund H. Stinnes was not among those thousands. Thanks to his good connections with the British financial world he lived unmolested in England and, in June 1940—with a British passport, he reached the U. S. A. via Canada.

Seven months later the *New York Times* published a news item of the arrival of "a mystery passenger" on the American Export Liner SIBONEY which had arrived at the Port of New York from Lisbon. This not so mysterious passenger was Mrs. Margiana Stinnes, wife of Edmund Stinnes. It was January 14, 1941. Hitler had overrun Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, France. His troops were looting the countries, the Gestapo murdering the population. The reporters were anxious to hear what Mrs. Stinnes, who had left European soil only a few days before, had to say. What did she have to say? At any rate not a word against Hitler. On the contrary: "I am definitely not

an exile and not a refugee." This was a hardly disguised declaration of solidarity and sympathy with the Third Reich and its rulers. As for her husband, he has consistently been in close contact with circles in this country who are for a "soft peace." While his brothers live in closest harmony with the thugs who are heading Germany, he has advocated, since the turn of military success against Hitler—in drawing rooms and at other occasions—the thesis that American capital should exert decisive influence on German Industry and accept the original German owners as junior partners.

The APC Takes Steps— After 21 Months

On December 11, 1941, war broke out between the U. S. A. and Germany. But one and three-quarter years passed before the Alien Property Custodian took steps in regard to the Hugo Stinnes Corporation. Moody's Industrial for the year 1944 reports: "On September 14, 1943, the Alien Property Custodian vested 530,145 shares of the company's stock held by certain (!) stockholders and undertook the direction, management, supervision and control of the business." We leave it to the imagination of the reader to visualize the circles which prevented the confiscation of the Stinnes stock for so long. In 1943 there were on the Board of Directors of the Hugo Stinnes Corporation, together with Hugo Stinnes and his wife and Otto Stinnes, the following Americans who occupy the same posts at present: P. H. Saunders, New Orleans (president and chairman); C. B. Stuart, Stanley Clarke, W. Flook, M. J. A. Bertin, all of New York; W. B. Barrett, Zuerich; and Harry Hardie, Baltimore.

Behind the Stinnes Brothers

Otto and Hugo Stinnes, Jr., the big shareholders of the Hugo Stinnes Corporation, had not felt at all the necessity of negotiating between 1939 and 1942. As long as the Wehrmacht carried the Swastika into one country after the other, as long as the stars seemed to promise victory for the Third Reich, the Stinnes took part in the raid and profited by Hitler's war. Hugo Stinnes Jr. accumulated more than two dozen Board of Directors' posts. He is on the Gelsenkirchener Bergwerks AG, one of the main pillars of the German Steel Trust, on the powerful Rheinisch-Westphalian Electric Power Works, the Bremen shipyard "Atlaswerke" which is controlled by him,—on automobile, paper and cellulose factories, shipping companies, etc.

Germany has lost the war—but the Stinnes and Co. do not want to perish with the Nazi

regime, that had yielded them so much profit. Through the Stockholm negotiations they try to save whatever can be saved . . . for themselves and allied powerful German interests. For under the presidency of Hugo Stinnes Jr. and in cooperation with the Americans P. H. Saunders and W. B. Barrett we find on the Board of Directors of the Muehlheimer Bergwerksvereins the masters of the three foremost German private banks: Karl Kimmich, member of the Board of Executives of the German Bank and on the Board of Directors of all big West German coal-iron-and steel trusts; Karl Rasche, member of the Board of Executives of the Dresdener Bank and on the Board of Directors of the Kali Trust (Potassium), of the Junkers airplane factories and the concern of Friederich Flick, one of the wealthiest big industrialists of the Third Reich; Eugene Bandel, member of the Board of Executives of the Commerz and Privat Bank. These were the banks that after Hitler's aggressions seized the big banks of the Continent without paying a penny for them. Among the other members of the Board of Directors of the Muehlheimer Bergwerksverein—known to be a domain of the two American Stinnes Concerns—there are George van Meeteren, magnate of the West and Middle German lignite mining industry, and the Nazi Privy Councillor, Karl Lindemann of Bremen, one of the most powerful men of the German shipping industry.

Cousin Grand Admiral Doenitz

But particular family connections lend an especially revolting character to the Stinnes case. Up to 1943 a director of the two American Stinnes concerns, Mrs. Hugo Stinnes Jr., nee Witt, is a daughter of the owner of the firm of the same name in Hamburg. Grand Admiral Doenitz has interests in this enterprise. The contact between the Commander-in-Chief of the Nazi War Fleet and the Stinnes is, however, by no means limited to these connections.

The maiden-name of the Admiral's mother is Wagenknecht. The same goes for the mother of the Stinnes brothers. Both women are daughters of Edmondo Wagenknecht, owner of the German concern Mallmann and Co., one of the largest South American import and export firms on the La Plata. (Even now the Stinnes brothers are actually still in control of property in Argentina.)

Otto, Hugo and Edmund H. Stinnes are cousins of Karl Doenitz who ordered and organized the sinkings of hundreds of American ships and the death of thousands of

American seamen through his torpedo-equipped sharks.

This completes the circle: from the Stinnes Ruhr coal barons to the big bankers, from the tank and armament czars of the Third Reich to Hitler's First Admiral—who, incidentally, had been one of the earliest members of the Nazi Party within the German Navy. They all are in back of the Stockholm attempt to scare the Western world with the spectre of Bolshevism and get away with a

negotiated peace. Their plot is evident: to save the privileges and economic power of a class which already twice in this century helped to manufacture a world war and which intends to have the German people play—for the third time—a part which Anatole France outlined with the classical words:

"On croit mourir pour la patrie, on meurt pour des industriels . . ."—"You believe you are dying for the fatherland—you die for some industrialists."

DEMOCRACY COMES TO THE BALKANS

By ALEXANDER RIZOV

RUSSIA'S DRIVE into the Balkans has in a few weeks basically changed the physiognomy of that peninsula. Out of the vacuum of Hitler's "New Order," vital and democratic states are emerging. The capitulation of Rumania and especially of Bulgaria, have political implications far transcending any military consideration. Marshal Tito's triumphant entry into Belgrade, at the head of his indomitable Army of National Liberation, highlights the advent of a new era for the Balkan peoples. They have broken with an oppressive and hated past and are now coming into their own. The common man—the Balkan peasant—hitherto loathed, exploited and persecuted, has finally reached political maturity. He has become conscious of his power. He has arrived and is here to stay.

The process towards the democratization of the Balkans started when the first Yugoslav Partisan picked up a gun to fight the Nazi invader and the domestic hirelings. It received a tremendous impetus through the appearance of the Red Army. Today the Partisan spirit and ideology has conquered in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria; it is on its way to victory in Rumania and Albania; and it refuses to be denied in Greece.

When the history of this war is written, one of its most glorious chapters will deal with the exploits of the Balkan peoples. They were the only ones in conquered Europe who dared challenge Hitler when he stood at the apex of his might. The Yugoslav* and Greek liberation movements grew in their constant struggle against the enemy. They initiated the revolutionary transformations which are now taking place in the Balkans and which can

only be understood properly in the light of the past.

The Balkans had the unenviable reputation of being the powder keg of Europe. As Europe's gate to the Near East with its rich oil fields and to India with her unlimited wealth, they were exposed to the power politics of clashing imperialisms. In one respect, though, the Great Powers agreed among themselves: they all tried to keep the Balkans weak and divided. This they achieved by inciting the national ambitions of the individual Balkan nations which were kept constantly at each other's throats.

On the eve of the Second World War the situation in the various Balkan countries did not differ much from one country to another. The democratic processes of government, insofar as they had existed, had been suspended. The people were deprived of practically all political liberties. Basic human rights, such as freedom of speech, freedom of press and freedom from want, were non-existent. National minorities were persecuted mercilessly. A small ruling oligarchy, centered around the dynasty, exercised power in an arbitrary and more or less dictatorial manner, ranging from the overt Metaxas dictatorship in Greece to the more refined regime of Prince Paul in Yugoslavia. Fascism, although it did not have a mass basis, as in Germany and Italy, was a reality in the Balkans. Hatred of Russia and fear of their own people were the two common denominators of all Balkan governments.

Hitler's economic and political penetration of the Balkans was greatly facilitated by the domestic oligarchies. Had it depended only on them, there is but little doubt that every single Balkan government would have capitulated most willingly to the Axis.

But the democratic instincts of the Balkan peoples are deep-rooted. Fascism as an ideological movement never managed to gain a real foothold among them. They hated and

* For a more comprehensive analysis of the Yugoslav Liberation Movement, see my article "The Saga of Yugoslavia" in THE PROTESTANT, April 1944.

fought it, both the foreign and domestic varieties. In their minds the two had almost become identified.

Hitler's conquest of the Balkans reinforced this attitude. The ruling cliques, under the impact of military defeat, split up into two groups. There were those who subserviently worked for the enemy, as the Nedich and Rhallis regimes in Belgrade and Athens (Pavlich and his crew in Zagreb were imported foreign agents). The others, although reactionaries at heart, were willing to offer some resistance to the foreign oppressor. But as soon as broad popular movements began to grow up, which jeopardized their return to power after the war, they turned their main energies to fighting their own people. In Yugoslavia that infamous task was performed by General Mikhailovich and his Chetniks, in Greece by Napoleon Zervas and his EDES outfit. It is on these forces that the reactionary Yugoslav and Greek governments-in-exile relied, until they were forced to recognize the dynamic national liberation movements, Tito's Partisans and the EAM.

In the former Axis satellites, Rumania and Bulgaria, no split occurred in the ruling cliques which went over completely to Hitler. The situation began to change of course as soon as it became obvious that they had bet on the losing horse. Then some "repenting democrats," like the men who composed the short-lived Muraviev government in Bulgaria and some people still in key positions in Rumania, made their appearance.

It is against this general background that the epic struggle of the Balkan peoples—Tito's Partisans in Yugoslavia, the EAM and their military formation, the ELAS, in Greece, and the Fatherland Front and its Partisans in Bulgaria—has to be viewed. All of these movements exhibit certain basic similarities. They are directed against the foreign oppressor—the Nazis and their satellites—as well as against the domestic pro-fascists and reactionaries. They fight not only for national liberation, but for political, social and economic democracy, for racial and religious equality; in a word, for the realization of the age-long aspirations of the Balkan masses.

Yugoslavia and Greece

What is the situation in the Balkans after the liberation of Belgrade, with Russian aid, and of Athens, with British support?

In Yugoslavia, Marshal Tito has not only defeated the enemy on the battlegrounds, but also—as he put it—"crushed through an iron ring of lies." Today he stands vindicated as the liberator of Yugoslavia, as the man who saved the honor of his country and put it on

the map. The "Mikhailovich hoax" has been exploded completely; his blustering assertion that he would have an army of 500,000 when the "big day" arrived has been proven hollow and today that once much publicized Chetnik leader is hiding, according to British reports, somewhere in the German-held part of Italy. Together with Mikhailovich, Yugoslav reaction has suffered a death-blow. King Peter has dismissed the old reactionaries, appointed the liberal Dr. Ivan Subasich as his Premier, and made an agreement with Tito which recognizes and safeguards "the national and democratic achievements of the Yugoslav peoples during their three years of struggle." A further agreement between Tito and Subasich provides for a "united national government within the shortest time." The future of Yugoslavia—the key nation of the Balkans—as a federated and democratic State seems assured.

Developments in Greece have been parallel to those in Yugoslavia only up to a certain point. Relatively, the EAM has shown much the same strength as the Yugoslav Liberation Movement, but so far it has not received all due recognition and is still misrepresented in many quarters as a purely communistic organization. It was compelled to compromise on rather disadvantageous terms, both with King George and his government-in-exile, headed by George Papandreou, and with the EDES of General Zervas. It received several minor posts in the Greek government which has meanwhile moved to Athens. EAM's great popularity with the Greek masses is becoming increasingly apparent as the country is being liberated. In spite of all impediments,* it seems destined to play a determining role in the future.

In Albania the Partisan movement has registered several noteworthy successes of late, liberating the important cities of Valona and Koritsa. A provisional government was formed under the leadership of Enver Hoxha, dubbed the "Tito" of Albania. The Partisans are by far the strongest movement in that tiny country and should, without foreign interference, prevail over the supporters of the former King Zog.

Rumania and Bulgaria

The coup d'etat in Rumania which swept the Antonescu dictatorship from power led to the formation of the Sanatescu cabinet. But the new Rumanian government, although it contained representatives of the National

*In November 1944 the Greek government ordered the dissolution of both the ELAS and the EDES, the order to take effect December 10.

Democratic Bloc, was composed mainly of generals, many of whom were compromised by their former activities. The cleansing of the State apparatus from fascist elements and war criminals moved forward at a slow pace. New complications set in as a result of disagreements between the powerful Peasant Party of Maniu, on the one side, and the Socialist and Communist parties which work in close cooperation, on the other. The latter advocated more radical measures against fascist sympathizers and desired to broaden the political basis of the government by eliminating the generals. Maniu prefers to move more slowly, in the hope that his party will eventually take over complete power by emerging victorious in any future election. The Democratic Bloc has recently been dissolved and a National Democratic Front formed with the participation of the Socialists, Communists, Union of Patriots, Agrarian Front and United Trade Unions, but excluding the Peasant and Liberal parties. On October 13, three key members of the Sanatescu cabinet resigned. A few days later a mass demonstration in Bucharest, in which 70,000 people participated, raised the slogan: "Down with the Government." Early in November Sanatescu resigned and formed a new cabinet, from which he dropped the generals, replacing them with representatives of the democratic parties. Petra Groza, leader of the Agrarian Front who advocates far-reaching agrarian reform, was appointed Vice-Premier; Constantin Visoianu, close collaborator of Rumania's foremost democratic statesman (the late Nicholas Titulescu), has become Foreign Minister. It can be expected that the new government will show greater eagerness to carry through a thorough housecleaning.

In Bulgaria the 99-hour war with the Soviet Union accelerated developments considerably. Twenty thousand Red soldiers sufficed to "conquer" this proverbially pro-Russian country. The moderate government of K. Muraviev, which superseded the pro-Axis government of Bagrianov, proved unable to cope with the difficult situation. It was overthrown by the Fatherland Front, the organization which has waged an unrelenting struggle against the Nazis and the Bulgarian quislings. The Fatherland Front is composed of the four strongest democratic and anti-fascist parties in the country—the Zveno Party with the powerful Military League behind it, the Left Agrarians, the Socialists and Communists.

The new government, headed by K. Gheorghiev, has proved what militant democracy is by its deeds. Within a few days complete

political rights and constitutional liberties were reestablished. The main culprits of Bulgaria's unholy alliance with Hitler—the three former regents, 33 former Ministers and 107 deputies—were arrested and are soon to be tried. A general purge of the whole administration and diplomatic apparatus was carried through. All anti-Semitic laws were revoked and Jews reinstated in their rights and returned their property. According to Tchervenkov, general secretary of the Fatherland Front, elections will be held in the near future to choose a new form of government. Two parties will emerge from these elections as the dominant forces in Bulgaria—the Agrarian Party and the Workers (Communist) Party.

The Bulgarian people have suffered much under fascism. They were among its first victims in Europe. As early as 1923 some 30,000 Bulgarians were massacred in a bloodbath which has few parallels in modern history. The Bulgarian has a long memory; and he is methodical and thorough. Today Bulgaria is setting an example to the whole world of how to eradicate fascism.

The first international act of new Bulgaria has been no less significant for the future of the Balkans. On October 15th a pact of friendship and military cooperation was signed with Marshal Tito. A few days later the strategic Serbian city of Nish was captured by the joint efforts of the Bulgarian and Yugoslav armies.

Equality Comes to Macedonia

Perhaps the most revolutionary change in the Balkans is the recent creation of a Macedonian State. Macedonia, known as the country of martyrs, has in the past always been a bone of contention between Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece. As a result of the Balkan wars it was dismembered and divided between those three nations. Few minorities have been as brutally persecuted and suppressed as the Macedonians. Everybody denied them the right to a national existence. Here again the Yugoslav Liberation movement proved a pioneer. At the historic second session of the Yugoslav Anti-fascist Council of National Liberation, held in Jaice a year ago, Macedonians were granted full rights of national self-determination, including the right of secession.

On August 2nd—the 41st anniversary of the memorable Ilinden uprising of the Macedonian people against the Turkish yoke—a meeting of 125 Macedonian representatives was held in Bitolja. There, in the presence of delegates from Tito's High Staff and of Allied military missions, Macedonia was proclaimed

a Federal State in a new democratic federative Yugoslavia. Bulgaria has recently expressed its approval of this action and is willing to cede her share of Macedonia. But what about the large Greek part of Macedonia which includes its capital Salonika, a city recently claimed by General Apostolsky and other Macedonian leaders? What is the attitude of Greece? This will depend on whether the popular EAM forces or the old-timers who think in narrow terms of frontiers will be the determining factor in the country. At any rate, a free Macedonia represents a considerable step forward towards the achievement of a lasting peace in the Balkans.

In his recent report to the Commons on the results of his Moscow talks with Stalin, Prime Minister Churchill, speaking of the Balkans, declared: "our bounden duty is so to conduct our policy that these small countries do not slip from the great war into internal feuds of extreme bitterness." This would seem to imply the existence of two factions of approximately the same strength opposing each other. Such is not the case, however. The examples of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria show that when the people are united and when they are given a free hand, they have little difficulty in extirpating the numerically weak fascist and reactionary elements. It should not be forgotten that the latter have caused harm not only to their respective countries, but also to the United Nations and the cause of world democracy. In the struggle between the forces

of yesterday and the forces of tomorrow there can be no compromise in the long run.

The fight against the common enemy and the general trend toward democracy has brought the Balkan peoples closer to each other than ever before. During the past three years Yugoslav, Greek, Albanian and Bulgarian Partisans have cooperated actively on the battlefield. Today there is a pact between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. A close alliance between these two brother peoples is, in Tito's words, "the basis of the future Balkan structure." A South-Slavic federation, embracing Yugoslavia, Macedonia and Bulgaria, would be the first step towards a Balkan federation. Such an endeavor, states the Swiss magazine *Weltwoche*, "must be regarded by every fair-minded observer as the most boldly conceived attempt ever undertaken for the pacification of the Balkans." The same periodical stresses that the Soviet Union is supporting these plans, thus showing "a most healthy sense for realities in the future organization of the Balkans" and at the same time proving her good faith, for otherwise she would insist on keeping the Balkans weak and divided into small countries which she could dominate more easily.

Future peace in the Balkans as in the world at large depends primarily, to quote again Churchill, "on the union of the three most powerful Allies." But within that framework, the Balkan peoples will determine their own destinies.

* * *

Washington, Nov. 1—Rev. W. O. Lewis, general secretary of the Baptist World Alliance, said today he had been advised that Baptists and Evangelical Christians have met in Moscow to unite an estimated 1,000,000 Russian communicants of these two churches.

Asserting that "this would seem to indicate a larger degree of liberty for the Baptists of Russia," Mr. Lewis said he had sent greetings to the conference. He expressed the hope that members of the Russian Baptist congregation might visit the United States some time in the future.

He made public this radiogram from Moscow:

"Conference of Evangelical Christians and Baptists gathered in Moscow in order to settle a historical question in the life of Evangelical Christians and Russian Baptists, namely, to unite two unions, fervently greet you, and all Baptist World Alliance."

The communication was signed by the "presidium: M. Orloff, M. Goljajeff, J. Jidkoff, A. Kareff, Nicholai Levondanto."

Associated Press

CAN CHINA UNITE FOR VICTORY?

by J. SPENCER KENNARD, JR.

The November 20 shake-up in the Chungking cabinet did not, unfortunately, involve any change in the character of the Nationalist government. Ho Ying-chin, no longer minister of war is still chief-of-staff; Chen Li-fu is now head of the organizing department of the Kuomintang; the head of the pro-Nazi clique, Chu Chia-hua, is now minister of education, H. H. Kung is still vice-premier, and the new minister of finance, O. K. Yui, is his man.

EDITOR

WHEN ELIJAH despaired, Jehovah assured him there were ten thousand persons who had not bowed the knee to Baal; and so it is with China today. Ninety per cent of China is on the side of the angels. The remaining ten per cent are in large part the victims of Germany's brilliant job of indoctrination among the military leaders and of the feudal indifference to national interests. Help the forces of democracy in China to eliminate these elements, and we shall find millions of able soldiers on our side to help us win the war, and five hundred million friendly customers to help us win the peace.

The tendency today is to so disparage Nationalist China with its capital in Chungking as to leave us with little hope except from the Partisan areas and their Communist-led armies. That notion is incorrect. Three-quarters of "Free" China is comprised in the Nationalist areas administered from Chungking, and from those areas will emerge the majority of the men and women who will be the builders of the new China.

Evidence of the fundamental soundness of the Chinese outlook appears in the present rising tide of protest against sabotage of the war effort and the made-in-Germany ideas of education. It is a tide which in the near future may be expected to break its dykes and flow forward to the creating of a democratic nation. An example of this protest is the recent publication of *China Looks Forward*, by Sun Fo, son of the founder of the Chinese republic, in which he denounces the present "dictatorial bureaucracy."

We hear much about how China's capitalists are sacrificing their nation in a wild scramble for profits. But that is not true of all of them. As an example of a high-minded capitalist, there is Chen Kuang-fu, one of China's leading bankers, who though he is making much from his various factories that produce alcohol, machines, electric supplies

and other tools of war, has consistently geared his activities to his nation's needs. His general manager, Chang Nai-ch'i, was one of the Seven Chinese Gentlemen imprisoned shortly before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war for their firm stand against appeasement. An example of President Roosevelt's brilliant insight into Chinese affairs was the close accord he established with Chen Kuang-fu through his personal representative Lauchlin Currie. Do not confuse this man with the notorious Chen Kuo-fu: though their names seem similar, their ideas are at opposite poles; the former a firm supporter of democracy, and the latter of Fascism.

Nationalist China is building the government of the future through the *Federation of Democratic Parties*, founded in 1938 to foster close cooperation between members of varied political viewpoints for winning the war. Most of its membership has been driven underground by Fascist reaction. One of the significant recent developments is the number of military officers who are entering the movement, of course strictly in secret and at considerable personal risk.

China too has an immense reserve of democracy within the social structure of the nation which appears within the family system and in the village councils. Ideals of democracy are inherent too in the ancient traditions which are part of the education of every child: such as the saying, "Heaven hears as my people hears," and the duty of subjects to overthrow unjust rulers.

Nevertheless, side by side with these forces of democracy, that are destined to build the China of the future, are the forces of reaction dominating the Nationalist China of the present. They are led by Ningpo-Shanghai compradores in alliance with feudal landlords and the German-trained Huangpu military officers. Chen Li-fu, the minister of education, and his brother Chen Kuo-fu head the immensely powerful "C C Clique," so called from their name, Chen. For more than a year now, H. H. Kung, the Generalissimo's brother-in-law and chief war profiteer, has been in alliance with them. This civilian triumvirate, supplemented by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his chief of staff Ho Ying-chin, have been dictating China's policies. Unlike the centralized authority of Britain, America, and the Soviet Union, it is a self-appointed dictatorship which cannot be curbed by parliamentary means.

American Christianity, both Protestant and Catholic, especially the former, must take some of the blame if China's leaders are not all they should be—a surprisingly large percentage are either church members or at least are given our official church blessing.

H. H. Kung wishes to be known as an ardent Christian. Many are the missionaries whom he has urged to kneel with him on the floor of his office to engage in earnest prayer for God's blessing. Last year he made the present of a radio to one of our Christian universities of which he was a trustee; the previous year he exercised his trusteeship of another to dictate the choice of its president.

The reactionary Chen Li-fu, though not a professing Christian himself, has two leading associates who are members of the church. Unable to baptize him, America's Roman Catholic hierarchy has canonized him with a doctorate conferred by Fordham University.

Chiang Kai-shek—Tool of Reaction

Chiang's 5 to 6 a.m. religious devotions have been much publicized. In breaking with a not too savory past he became a member of the American Methodist Church, South. His career as a Christian statesman has had many commendable points. If he has engaged in wholesale massacre of Communists, that was only what Western churchmen, Protestant as well as Catholic, were tacitly approving. Witness our stand on Spain, where hundreds of thousands of those massacred were scarcely "pink" and yet even noted Protestant church papers like *The Christian Century* scarcely raised a finger to prevent America's connivance. At least Chiang saw the need for resisting Japan when American business men were still shipping her oil and scrap iron. Many a time has China's leader stood almost pack of appeasers and traitors. No one but he could have steered China's ship of state through the stormy waters of recent years. That was what the Communist General Chou En-lai told Chang Hsueh-liang, the young Manchurian war lord when the latter's officers wanted to put Chiang to death for refusing to fight Japan in 1936.

Under Chiang's leadership China has made notable strides in industrialization and opening of communications; his plans for post-war China are on an immense scale. Moving a thousand factories from the sea coast in the face of the Japanese advance, and placing into operation all of China's arsenals, was an epic achievement. He has also sponsored important secondary reforms advocated by the founder of China's republic, Sun Yat-sen. Under him literacy has made notable progress, though less so than in Communist areas;

many temples are used as schools; everywhere, even in this critical time of war, cities and towns are being modernized. "Moral Endeavor" hostels are keeping many army officers from liquor and brothels; opium cultivation has been ended in vast areas and its use reduced.

But at times reforming zeal has itself been an opium, as when "New Life" youth are made to think they are saving their nation by forcing victims of China's hot summers to button tight the collars of their gowns. Similar is the campaign which has forced girls and women to remove their earrings, reserving these ornaments to the aristocracy. In such ways the reforming zeal, of which Chinese youth has immense stores, can be diverted into harmless channels.

In fundamental issues Chiang's Christian training has been as much a liability as an asset, for in keeping with 99 per cent of Christendom he has perceived that *worship of a great personality, like Sun Yat-sen and of our Lord Jesus Christ, is a valid substitute for obedience to Him*. Chiang cannot sacrifice the bankers and landed aristocracy, who placed him at the head of the government, by division of the estates and granting power to the masses.

Chiang's swing toward reaction is due in no small measure to Chen Kuo-fu, who for several years has been shoving Madame Chiang aside as confidential adviser.

Moreover, boding ill for the period of reconstruction, is the fact that Chiang Kai-shek's ability to handle the feudal gentry in prosecuting the war is born of his own feudal outlook. His book *China's Destiny*, is rooted in the past and sets forth a concept of nationalism which threatens both internal democracy and external peace. Like Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, Chiang's book is to be taught in all the schools for moulding the outlook of the rising generation. Perhaps its chief tragedy is that the new edition, in which some notable improvements had been expected as the result of Madame Chiang's return to China, is almost as bad in its worship of the reactionary past and in its dreams of expansion. Madame Chiang upon reaching Chungking refused to sleep under the same roof as the Generalissimo. For one week this estrangement continued. Things then were patched up at a tea party given by the Kungs. We thought, at the time, that the book was the cause of the estrangement.

One would prefer to stick to that view, rather than accept the more recent one advanced by American pressmen about the pretty concubine. If, by chance, there were such a

person and especially, as some of the rumors have it, a near relative of the Chen brothers and their agent to get the Generalissimo more under their power, we should have an explanation for not a little which has happened in China the past few years.

Madame Chiang

Madame Chiang throughout her career has been a wonderful friend to America. Nor is the service she rendered our nation and world democracy to be obscured by her war profiteering. Among the tragedies of this period of demoralization in China are the leaders once noted for their enlightened patriotism who have plunged into the mad scramble for blood profits. Madame Chiang is one of the victims; indeed some place her only second to her brother-in-law H. H. Kung among China's bureaucratic profiteers. Some persons make a great deal of her ostentation on her last visit to this country when, not as now an invalid in a hospital, but going about the country making many speeches she spent not a little of her spare time accumulating luxury articles. Among other things she is said to have made the greatest purchase of emeralds in the history of New York's jewelry trade.

But issues like these are beside the point, as when Professor Ma Yin-chu of Fudan University in Chungking exposed the enormous profits she and her family were making out of the war. It was a heroic speech. Professor Ma included a reference to the penalty of imprisonment he would have to pay for this exposure of Chungking's rulers, but he never faltered. Injured in health by his prison experience, at the time I left China he had been released and was lying in a hospital. Another brave protester was Professor Lo Lung-chi, holder of a Ph.D. from Columbia University and of a couple of other American degrees, one of the most popular teachers in South Western University near Kunming. Generalissimo Chiang stopped his plane at Kunming to order his dismissal from the university faculty, because of alleged connection with the great student demonstration against his brother-in-law H. H. Kung. The occasion for the demonstration was the transportation of a number of dogs by the last plane leaving Kunming before the Japanese took over the airfield. These dogs supposedly belonged to the Kung family like lots of other stuff transported in planes leaving Hong Kong. That China's limited supply of planes should be used to carry dogs at a time when important Chinese officials and other persons were desperately trying to get away from the city

seemed an outrage. Actually the dogs did not belong to Madame Kung, as she dislikes them; they may have belonged to the pilot or to some other member of the Kung family. In any case the demonstration was a stupid one, for it was fixing blame for mismanagement of the war upon a family which potentially, in spite of all its failings, is a strong asset for Allied victory.

Here Are China's Traitors

The devils in this business are Ho Ying-chin, Chiang's chief of staff, and the German-trained military caste, commonly spoken of as the Huangpu Clique.

These are the traitors. They are the men who have gotten China into its present mess, and for whose crimes we Americans too are paying, in terms of American blood and American dollars.

The present tendency of informed opinion is to regard Ho Ying-chin's position as chief of staff to be with the approval of the Generalissimo. I trust it is otherwise and that no mere wishful thinking has been behind my defense of Chiang with the excuse that he could not help himself in view of the strength of the Huangpu military clique. Besides, had not Ho threatened his life? Angered at the pact the Generalissimo was making with the Communists to fight Japan, at the time in December 1936 when Chiang was a prisoner of the Manchurian officers in Sian, Ho gave orders to China's airforce to bomb the city. If Chiang had escaped the planes he could hardly have escaped the anger of his captors. What saved his life was five days of storm which grounded the planes. Surely he would not hand out favors to his would-be murderer! But then, such is China: always essentially practical. Chiang curbed Ho by handing the control of the airforce to his own wife.

And here is Ho Ying-chin's record. In May 1935 he was responsible for the Ho-Uemitsu agreement whereby Japan was given jurisdiction of large areas of North China. When news of this pact with Japan leaked out, Chinese students staged huge demonstrations, shouting "Down with Japan" and "Down with Ho Ying-chin." In December 1936 there was the above mentioned attempt on the life of Chiang, motivated apparently because Chiang's agreements to resist further Japanese encroachments would end Ho's own policy of appeasement. Next year, when it came to actual war with Japan, Ho was one of those who opposed it. Ho Ying-chin's close friend Wang Ching-wei went over openly to the Japanese when they seemed to be getting the upper hand in the Yangtse Valley. To all appearances the friendship has continued. But Ho proved himself the much abler politi-

cian by deciding to carry out his objectives of accord with Japan while retaining his position as chief of staff.

In February 1941 and just a year ago in the fall of 1943, and perhaps at other times besides, he was organizing civil war upon a scale which, if carried out, could only have ended in a treaty of alliance between Chungking and Tokyo. On this last occasion, at the very time when Generalissimo Chiang was making promises to China and to the world that differences with the Partisans would be adjusted solely by "political means", Ho was organizing the settlement by military means. Four thousand tons of munitions and other military supplies were shipped from Chungking and other parts of China. Also, as supply for the invading armies, the tax in kind on the 1943 rice crop in areas adjacent to those of the Partisans was sent to forward posts. Simultaneously propaganda was let loose about the sins of the Partisans so as to create the needed psychological atmosphere. General Stillwell, plus the common sense of some of the Chinese generals who received Ho's orders, averted what would have been a major tragedy for Allied arms in the Far East. Friends of Chiang Kai-shek have naturally been wondering how he felt about all this.

Some of Chiang's Associates

Moreover, if Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is fundamentally on the side of righteousness, why did he organize a bureau for trading in Japanese luxury goods and place at its head Tu Yueh-sheng, the most notorious gangster in China? Traffic with the enemy was bad enough, for, besides the damage to Chinese economy in providing wool and other war essentials to the enemy, these luxury imports were speeding the crash of China's economy. As a climax there was the administration of this traffic by this czar of Shanghai's underworld and international trader in narcotics! Miss I. R. Sues in her delightful book on China, *Shark's Fins and Miller*, tells how once this Al Capone played a practical joke on Chiang. It was the wedding trip of the Chiangs, and on a moment when the bride had been left alone a pretty maid absconded with her: all this a lesson to teach Chiang that even he was not exempt from tribute to the arch gangster. And so perhaps on this occasion also Chiang could not help himself. As to his conscience, the enormous trade in Japanese goods had been going on anyway, and as for Tu Yueh-sheng, Chiang had for many years been under obligation to him, for Tu gave much aid in Chiang's great massacre of Shanghai workers and students in 1927, and it was Tu again who provided much of

the financial aid for the Communist extermination campaigns which followed.

Then there is Chiang's relation to the traitor T'ao Hsi-sheng. According to general opinion it was he whom Chiang selected to ghost his *China's Destiny*. T'ao was educated in Japan, as was also his friend Kao Chung-wu who is now in this country. Both these men were pro-Japan at the start of the war and both became associated with the puppet Wang Ching-wei government in Nanking. So far as can be ascertained it was not a change in beliefs but money that pried them loose from Japan.

A fourth character whose close connection with the Generalissimo perplexes us is Tai Li, who heads the Chinese Gestapo—the dreaded T'owo T'uan. The measure of Tai Li's interest in fighting Japan may be estimated from the conduct of the branches he set up in Shanghai and elsewhere, which when the Japanese came in went over into their service in a body.

Again there is Admiral Sen Hung-lie, who while governor of Shantung was blatantly pro-Japan. In keeping with his policy of warring against the Chinese Partisans instead of the Japanese, one of his last acts before quitting his governorship was to have his Fourth Division combine with the Japanese in a joint attack against the Partisans on January 8, 1942, at Nai Wu hsien in Southern Shantung. Upon arrival in Chungking instead of disciplining him, Chiang made him Minister of Agriculture and Forestry.

And how is it that Chiang could have tolerated as vice-minister of his Nationalist Party's organization board such a fascist as Chu Chia-hua, head of the pro-Hitler clique?

One might go on listing dozens of other names of persons who, in spite of their feeble interest in the war against Japan, hold important positions in Chiang Kai-shek's government.

The weak morale of the capital is reflected in the field, as in the melting of General Tang En-po's army this past summer at the approach of the Japanese in their great thrust southward. Not merely had Tang's officers replaced fighting with tobacco raising, as is mentioned by Miss Graham in her *Nation* article; worse still, they were engaged in an enormous smuggling trade with the enemy. More interested in saving their goods than in fighting those who, after all, had been their benefactors by making them rich, they took to their heels. The result was that the Japanese armies encountered little opposition.

At the moment of writing these lines, Hsueh Yueh, one of China's upright and truly

dependable generals, is delaying Japan's drive at the approaches to Kweilin. But Chungking corruption has cost America some of her leading airfields. An important American military officer formerly in charge of one of these American airfields at Kweilin, discovered that aviation gas was disappearing from his warehouses. The price America pays for this gasoline transported by plane to interior China is enormous, not merely in money but in the lives of our boys. Scarcely a day has passed but one of them has crashed with his load while going over "the Hump" of the massive Himalaya mountains.

Investigation by the American officer traced the theft of gasoline to a Chinese general in Kunming. At that point he was ordered to drop the inquiry. Apparently the inquest was becoming just a bit too hot for friendly relations with Ho Ying-chin. Incidentally, trade activities between Chungking and Kunming have been one of Ho's chief sources of personal income; the other being his investments in Kweichow administered by his brother Ho Chi-wu.

In moments of indignation, American officers in China have been known to estimate that of the earlier Lend-Lease supplies sent to China a bare 10 per cent was employed for fighting Japan. Of the remainder, they claimed 70 per cent was salted away for struggles with political rivals, and 20 per cent was sold to the Japanese. These figures call for more evidence. However there is no difficulty in believing that a portion was sold to Japan. A missionary friend of mine has seen great barges of rice loaded on the Min River in Fukien province, which every one admitted were destined for the Japanese. Anything could have been hidden in the rice.

Of the alleged 70 per cent put by for civil strife, a large part has now been recovered by American officers assigned to this task. Moreover, by now I think we can be assured that little or nothing of the Lend-Lease supplies sent to China is misused. The reason is not an improvement in Chungking morale, but in American watchfulness.

Those of us who have been watching the China situation have had plenty of evidence that all the foregoing is known to our government, and a great deal more. Our government's wise handling of the China situation has been made possible only by long and painful experience.

The Two Wars

The confusion we have been describing is due to the two wars being waged in the world

today, the *national war* and the *social war*. In America, Britain, and the Soviet Union we have put a moratorium on the social war: we are determined to leave its conflicts to the ballot, and to do little about it until after we have won the peace a decade or two hence.

Yugoslavia, Poland, and China are examples of nations in which the national war has at times been subordinated to the social war. In Yugoslavia the crisis is now past, thanks to recognition by the Allies of Marshal Tito as military leader in the place of Mikhailovitch who compromised with the enemy in his efforts to safeguard vested privilege. In Poland, class hatreds antedating the Teutonic Knights appear to have run their course with General "Bor" feeling himself safer in German hands than in those of Communist-led peasants. So too in China, rather than give any recognition to the Communists, Ho Ying-chin and his friend Wang Ching-wei would prefer to come to terms with Japan.

Had Japan behaved half decently, most of the gentry now controlling the Nationalist Party would have accepted its leadership for the sake of exterminating their political rivals.

Those rivals have now gained immensely in strength. The "Communism" of their leaders has become modified, and hundreds of thousands of peasants who know nothing of Marxist beliefs are now taking orders from the Communist general staff, like Jade's companions in *Dragon Seed*. Hence, after the analogy of Yugoslavia, a better name to give their armies is *Partisans*.

These Partisans have put forth as one condition of unity that the military general staff for all China, like the general staff of America, shall be composed of men as free as possible from party differences. Also they have demanded that the half million of China's finest and best equipped soldiers, who for years have been employed at little else than policing the borders of Partisan areas, be hurled against the Japanese. A third demand has been the conservation of democracy in those areas where it has been established. Usually there is a fourth demand, the legalizing of the Communist Party.

None of these proposals can be sincerely accepted by the group of men who today surround Generalissimo Chiang. Hence to the question, "Can China unite for victory?" we answer—not unless these men are thrown out and a more democratic coalition is formed.

(A further article on China by the same author will appear in the next issue of THE PROTESTANT entitled, *Partisan China Fights*.)

WHAT IS THE READER'S DIGEST?

By HELEN MILLER

In June 1943 the Executive Committee of the National Council of Teachers of English asked the Council's Committee on Magazines and Newspapers "to investigate the usefulness and soundness of THE READER'S DIGEST as a teaching aid in the war situation." The editors of the magazine in question apparently did not relish the idea of a report of any kind being made to teachers of English. In March 1944 Mr. Crowley, Educational Director who sells THE READER'S DIGEST to schools, began calling on members of the Executive Committee. On May 27 seven top-ranking men from the publication were in Chicago to meet with the Executive Committee on the matter. The Committee on Magazines and Newspapers prepared a report, but it has not been released for publication. In this article the chairman of the committee shows you how to answer for yourself the question "What is THE READER'S DIGEST?"—a question to which its editor, DeWitt Wallace, would not reply.

THE EXTENSIVE influence of *The Reader's Digest* gives thinking people in a democracy the responsibility to know what it is. "It has become," Senator Guffey said in the Senate, "a cartel of information, subsidizing other periodicals throughout the Nation, and representing abroad the opinions of the people of this Nation through its many foreign-language editions."

Is *The Reader's Digest* really a digest of the best articles from current magazines? May a person say, "In *The Reader's Digest* I get the top cream of them all"?

An examination of the 19 issues of the magazine from January 1943 through July 1944 shows that 19.8% of the articles were written by the editors of *The Reader's Digest*. 8.8% of these appeared as originals under the names of the editors. 11.3% of these appeared in other magazines under the names of different editors of *The Reader's Digest* before they were reprinted. For example, the names of Stanley High, George Kent, Harland Manchester, Webb Waldron and W. L. White, all Roving Editors, appear over five of the articles that were reprinted during 1943 from *The American Mercury*.

In the same 19 issues, 53% of the articles were digests from magazines and newspapers of articles not written by the editors, but they cannot all be assumed to be digests of articles that the editors did not see before they were printed in other magazines. There are three reasons for thinking that there may have been editorial planning for some of them.

1. Anyone who examines several issues will find the names of authors recurring. For example, between January 1943 and September 1944 there were 9 articles by Frank J. Taylor and 7 articles each by Louis Bromfield, T. E. Murphy, J. D. Ratcliff and Don Wharton.

2. In 1943 37% of the articles that were taken from magazines and newspapers were

taken from 10 magazines and newspapers: *American Mercury* 16 articles, *Collier's* 12, *American Legion* 9, *Saturday Evening Post* 9, *This Week* and the *New York Herald-Tribune* 11, *American Magazine* 9, *Liberty* 9, *Life* 9, *Forbes* 8, *Atlantic Monthly* 8. Nineteen of the articles taken from these periodicals were written originally by editors of *The Reader's Digest*.

3. The editors of *The Reader's Digest* cooperate with the editors of other magazines in planning, writing and placing articles. *The Reader's Digest*, an article in *Fortune* for November 1936 says, "not only pays generous fees to 35 magazines for exclusive reprint privileges but even supplies certain of the magazines, gratis, with original articles which *Reader's Digest* proceeds to condense and reprint."

Some periodicals have objected publicly to the methods of *The Reader's Digest* in planning and placing articles. The editors of *The New Yorker* in a letter of February 9, 1944, to their contributors said, "*The Digest* is beginning to generate a considerable fraction of the contents of American magazines. . . . We believe it should not operate through other publications to keep alive the reprint myth." *The New Republic* for March 6, 1944, said that it "will no longer use material which originates in the *Digest* office and is intended for eventual reprint there. If *The Digest* wants to expose its 9,000,000 readers to some of the good liberal doctrine from the pages of *The New Republic*—we shall be happy to have it do so—happy and surprised, in view of the way its policy has recently been shaped. We are convinced that the early ideals of *The Reader's Digest* are incompatible with its present aggressive attitude, and that unless it returns to its former principles, it will have to take its place openly as an extremely conservative magazine, prepared by its own staff

of contributors, and on all fours with the other conservative magazines like the Crowell, Curtis and Hearst chains."

Social and Political Policy?

No magazine is criticized for having a social or political policy; a magazine, in fact, might be criticized in this important period of history for not having one. *The Reader's Digest* has been criticized for not saying that it has a social and political policy and telling what it is.

The reader may carry on an investigation to answer for himself whether *The Reader's Digest* has a social and political policy, and, if it has one, what that policy is. The following are suggested methods.

1. Ask people what they think of the social and political articles in the magazine. Do the same people consistently approve of the articles and the same people consistently question them? If so, does that indicate that there is a definite policy? If the people with the same kind of social and political philosophy consistently approve and the people with another kind of philosophy consistently question or disapprove, does that indicate what the policy of the magazine is?

2. Collect the articles on any one social or political subject in as many issues as possible and examine them to see if one point of view pervades them all. If one point of view is strongly evident in one article, are there other articles with opposing or divergent points of view? That is, does the magazine influence the thinking of people in one and only one direction? Is the following pattern evident? There is one explosive article or one considered dangerous by liberal thinkers and several mild or harmless articles on the same subject. Do these seem to be protective or cover-up articles? Do many innocent or even good articles cancel the influence of one dangerous article?

3. Do the articles on any one subject meet the basic issues of that subject, or do they merely talk about the subject and in so doing divert the reader's thinking from the basic issues?

4. Examine the titles of the social and political articles as they appear on the front cover. Where are they placed—at the top conspicuously? Are they by the editors or are they original articles? If so, they may represent the policy of the magazine. What is their probable influence upon those who do not read the articles but see the titles on the newsstands and library tables?

The criticisms of *The Reader's Digest* have been repeated so often that they should be analyzed. What are they? Upon what are they based? What is the evidence?

Building National Unity?

Is it anti-Semitic? Criticisms still circulate of the article, "The Facts About the Jews in Washington" (September 1942). What is the effect of that title? That the fact that there are Jews in Washington was something to write about was impressed upon the minds of people even though the article itself concludes that only four percent of the population are Jews and the issue can "become what it ought to be—no issue whatsoever."

Is it anti-Negro? Articles and anecdotes appear at rather frequent intervals—in 1943 in January, February, April, May, June and August; in 1944 in February, March, April, May and June. Notice the effect of the word *warns* with the words *Negro* in this title, "A Negro Warns the Negro Press" (January 1943). The article is an exhibit of hate-making practices while protesting against them. In the title "White and Blacks *Can* Work Together" (March 1944) by William Hard, Roving Editor, the word *Can* is underlined, but in the article it is work that is emphasized. The author says, "I do not speak of poll taxes, of segregation in railroad trains and residential districts, of intermarriage, or any other kind of 'social equality.' I speak of the bare right of a man to earn his living." The reader should examine the articles in the magazine to decide whether their influence will contribute to fixing in people's minds that the position of Negroes should be a subservient one, that Negroes serve as comedy in anecdotes because they are Negroes, or whether their influence will contribute to bringing about the real brotherhood of man.

Is it anti-labor? *The CIO News* for March 20, 1944, says, "The trade union movement, especially the CIO, has come in for harsh treatment by *The Digest*. One or more blasts can be found in virtually every issue." The reader should examine the articles on labor as they appear to see whether there is a consistent policy. If there is, does it support the rights of the rank and file members to make their own decisions or does it advocate that unions should be regulated from without? See "The States Should Umpire the Picket Line" (January 1943) by William Hard, Roving Editor, and "Why Unions Must Be Regulated" (August 1944) with this in red letters below the title, "Antiunion Legislation Is Inevitable." We remember that one of the first things Hitler did was to take over the

unions. The reader will judge the articles according to the basic principles he follows in his own thinking.

International Relations?

"Our Deep Dark Secrets in Latin America" (December 1943) by Republican Senator Hugh Butler from Nebraska was the subject of two speeches in the Senate by Senator Joseph Guffey, Democrat from Pennsylvania. In one, "The Great Betrayal," we find: "Gone is the pretense that *The Digest* simply republishes noteworthy articles from other periodicals. Here we have a regular expedition into Latin America with a Senator riding the elephant. . . . Don't worry about the Good Neighbor Policy, but if there is a pro-Axis revolt in Bolivia, be sure to claim credit for it. Anything to get Roosevelt. . . . This procedure, Mr. President, seems to be a very great betrayal of the freedom of the press and the responsibility of the press in this critical period."

In the other speech, we read: "It is a matter of legitimate concern when a periodical which has become a cartel of information, subsidizing other periodicals throughout the Nation, and representing abroad the opinions of the people of this Nation through its many foreign-language editions, should seize upon a freshman Senator and make him the cat's paw in a bit of journalistic ghost writing which brings joy to the heart of every Axis agent in this hemisphere and is welcomed with delight by the Ramirez regime in the Argentine Republic. Our Ambassador to Chile, the Honorable Claude Bowers, reports officially that the appearance of this *Digest* article has led to anger and repudiation by newspapers and political leaders in that progressive-minded Republic. . . . A power-crazed publisher. . . has shown by this deed that he, as proprietor of *The Reader's Digest*, is willing to torpedo the solidarity of the Western Hemisphere and besmirch the leaders of the western republics if thereby he can contribute to the defeat of President Roosevelt's magnificent administration in the forthcoming national elections of 1944."

Senator Butler wrote a second article, "They Are Still Deep, Dark Secrets" in which he said, "Since calling attention to what is happening in Latin America, I have received more than 3,000 letters, of which 90 percent approve of my article and report. But more significantly, these letters include several score from persons with *firsthand knowledge of Latin-American affairs*." If many people approved of Senator Butler's articles and many disapproved of them, does that mean that those who thought them harmful should

not be worried? This is not a debate in a parlor just for the fun of it. Is Senator Guffey right in saying that it was the Axis agents that were delighted with the first article?

After "We Must Face the Facts About Russia" (July 1943) by Max Eastman, Roving Editor, appeared, a weekly newspaper in Madrid, *El Espanol*, reprinted it (on September 18), with these headlines above it: "Stalin Against Liberty. 15 Million Humans Are Suffering Agonies in Soviet Concentration Camps. A Prominent American Condemns Communism. No Accord Between the United States and Russia Is Possible."

The National Anti-Fascist Front of Cuba called upon President Batista to bar *Selecciones*, the Spanish edition of *The Reader's Digest*, from the mails on the grounds that it was disrupting friendly relations between the United States and the Latin American countries.

El Imparcial, a San Juan newspaper, on February 23, 1944, printed an open letter to Mr. Wallace, editor of *The Reader's Digest*, signed by a hundred prominent Puerto Ricans. Here is a translation of part of the letter, "We desire to denounce publicly that article ('We Must Face the Facts About Russia') as a comfort to our enemies, who now that their defeat is assured can only hope to prevent our complete victory by fomenting disunity and suspicion among the United Nations."

Can the influence of that one article be set off or cancelled out by any number of innocent articles no matter how good they are?

Religion?

During 1943 there was at least one article on a religious subject in all but two of the issues. The reader may answer these questions or any he asks himself and then judge the magazine upon the basis of his answers.

1. Does the fact in itself that the magazine has articles on religious subjects mean that it is a desirable magazine?

2. Might the inclusion of articles on religious subjects with articles that do not promote the brotherhood of all men on the earth be an abuse of religion?

The Reader's Digest, in convenient form, is easy, pleasant reading. Its articles on religion, science, personal problems and other popular subjects cover the daily and social interests of all kinds of people. There is the question, however, whether these popular articles are used to spread a definite brand of propaganda. It is the responsibility of thinking people to answer that question.

PEOPLES' CONGRESS OF APPLIED RELIGION

By JAMES LUTHER ADAMS

—"the spirit was moving."

IT WAS A SIGHT not often to be seen. A sharecropper preacher speaking to sharecroppers and workers, not at a cross road but in a beautiful Gothic church for city folk. He was standing at the place where the nave and the transept form the symbol of another cross. And we were to hear something about the cross, too,—about the cross that reaches from Golgotha to south of God." It was Claude Williams speaking. He was beginning one of the informal sessions, attended mainly by Negro and white farmers, auto workers, sharecroppers and their preachers. In his characteristically colorful way, he said: "There is a religion about Jesus, about the prophets, about the Bible, about the next life. And there is a religion of Jesus, and of the prophets, and of the Bible, and of this life—the Kingdom of God on earth. The religion about Jesus and the prophets and the Bible is a false religion. One can believe in that and violate brotherhood, exploit, rob or do anything else he pleases and perhaps at the same time sit in the Amen corner and be the biggest leader of a stained glass, pious steeped, padded-pews church. The religion of Jesus and of the prophets and of the Bible and of this life is the true religion. One who believes in this religion cannot violate brotherhood, subscribe to jim-crow, sign 'restrictive covenants' against minorities, rob, exploit, steal. 'If a man say I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?' The Peoples' Congress believes, subscribes to and proposes to practice the religion of Jesus, not the religion about Jesus. Here are the issues around which this Congress is called and concerning which it proposes to work out a program of action. When I have finished outlining the ideas for which we stand, I want you brothers and sisters to stand up one by one and tell what you have been doing and what you intend to do when you get back home."

Claude Williams then reminded the group of the central purposes of the Congress,—that it "means to take an affirmative stand collectively . . . for a people's world; for the utter defeat of all Fascist forces; against the illusions of pacifism, nationalism, appeasement; for racial equality; against the sin of anti-Semitism; against the poll tax; for the organizing of all workers into labor unions; and for a dynamic religious program which un-

conditionally and actively identifies itself with the peoples of the world in their fight against arrogance and oppression and in their struggle to establish, in fact, a people's world of Justice and Brotherhood."

Sergeant Cauefield was one of the first to 'testify': "I represent the Louisiana Educational Association," he said. "I and the brothers who came up here with me belong to the union. We are glad to be here so as to meet other Christians who know what we colored folks are up against. We are in misery and poverty. We want to learn how to put things in action. I made a speech in the church, and the prosecutors said they were going to get me. And I said I was going to stick by my people and get them into the union. And I said I would fight to the last drop of blood in my body." The Sergeant stopped and sat down.

But the spirit was moving. Brother E. L. Hughes, a farmer-preacher from Arkansas, arose and witnessed to it: "We have to protest, not alone but together, white and black together." "Yes," said Brother Rogers, also from Arkansas, "if we love each other we will work together. God will drive away fear. The enemy may take our lives. But God will save us from fear. I am glad to meet a people that is not afraid."

"Well, I want to say," Ed Harris, an Arkansas sharecropper was now speaking, "I want to say that if the Brother from Louisiana had the privilege to speak in a church, he was luckier than I. I have in my hand a poll tax receipt, and I am going to vote. But the white men don't like it, not one bit. I believe in the union, and the bosses tried to burn my house. If you run, they will chase you. I don't run, and I can borrow money just on my name. To a preacher who won't fight, I wouldn't give ne'er a penny on your coffin, because you are already in a coffin. And if you fight the unions you need a coffin."

These remarks brought to his feet the Rev. Mr. Campbell, ex-member of the KKK, an Arkansas sharecropper preacher (whose father, a sharecropper preacher, was also present): "I like what the Brother has said, but as a preacher I want to say that if we are not willing to take up the cross we will not do the Lord's will. If we're ever going to get a people's world, the kind of world the prophets of Israel wanted, we will need more people like the prophets, more people, more preachers, with courage. We have too many

Judases and appeasers. We don't need no more of what you *call* preachers but who have a yellow streak up the back four feet wide. They preach only for Boss John. We don't have God in us. God is love. If we have love in us, we will work and fight for the common people. I guess what we need is grit, grace and greenbacks."

Claude Williams broke in here, "Love does not promote unity. Unity promotes love. We have to get to know another man before we can begin to love. Get unity first." And after telling what some preachers are doing for the unions and what other preachers like the Smiths and the Norrises are doing against the unions and against unity between Negro and white, between Gentile and Jew, he turned to Brother Campbell: "Don't you think it's time for a little singing. Why don't you lead us in one of the songs we sing with our people?"

Brother Campbell came forward. "We rarely have song books down there in our meetings," he said, "So we have to know our songs by heart. Say, I think we ought to sing 'Let the will of the Lord be done.'"

Before long the entire group (including the city folk) had learned the words and were singing with the fervor of an old camp meeting. Some of the city people sang with a gusto that was new for them, that is, in a church. They sang as if they *felt* the "unity." It must be remembered that for many people present this was the first time they had seen and experienced such a thing: farmers and city folks, sharecropper preachers and New York sophisticates, Negroes and whites from the fields, Negroes and whites from the factories, and white people from the lily-white churches,—all were singing *together* for a new unity. And as the "nice" people sang, the lump rose in their throats as they remembered (and blushed for) the exploitation, the discrimination, the isolationism, the brutality of ordinary "Christian" life. Here are the words of the song as I copied them down.

Let the will of the Lord be done.

Where?

On the farm

How?

Organize, Oh be at one.

Let the will of the Lord be done. Where?

In the shop, etc.

In your heart, etc.

In the home, etc.

In the street, etc.

In the school, etc.

Let the will of the Lord be done. Where?

In the church, etc.

How?

Organize. Oh be as one.'

After the singing, Brother Campbell said, "Now we should pray together. We should pray the Lord's Prayer. But you know, in our meetings down South we don't have prayer books. We have to repeat our prayers line by line. Brother Whitfield, won't you lead us in the Lord's Prayer?" Brother Whitfield came forward and led us line by line, and the prayer was uttered with the freshness and vigor it must have elicited that first time in Judea: "Our Father who are in heaven . . . , Thy kingdom come, thy will be *done*."

After the song and the prayer, Brother Majority, a farmer-preacher from Missouri, arose and said, "This is all new to me. When I was 14 the Lord spoke to me. I was a-raisin' up children and I wasn't fittin to be an example. I wanted to make my home the Lord's home. Some people worship money, some worship their farm, some worship the *words* they preach. I have learned that when we serve the people we worship God. We need unions down our way, for the working men and the farm workers have been robbed. But we shouldn't push the unions now. I say we oughta win the war."

At this, Rev. Owen Whitfield, a field worker of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, a most dynamic colored preacher with 'the gift', and the organizer and director of the Butler County, Missouri, Committee for Religious and Political Education, which today is "organizing" for the unions and for the vote, said: "Yes, we've gotta win the war, but the unions are helping more than anything else. When we organized our union, we held meetings secretly in our homes, sometimes late at night with the blinds pulled down, so the bosses wouldn't harm us. Some people say union bars you from Christianity. But Jesus was in union. He wanted to unite people." And then Whitfield told about registering a 73 year-old woman, who cried because she was so happy. He went on: "The Jahwists down our way won't use the word God. They say it's a capitalist word. They are for both Negroes and whites, and they want you to belong to the union. After you are baptized in their meeting, they kiss the holy kiss as a symbol of brotherhood. Sometimes they insist that everybody be baptized by a Negro, so that everybody will be put to the test. If a person draws back he has to be baptized again. Claude Williams is not an ordinary man. He is a Moses. Now, Moses didn't have many people really *with* him. A lot of them murmured. I mean to stand by my religion. Religion pure and undefiled is to help those in affliction. God is with those who are with the people."

Here Claude Williams took up the theme: "And we can't just sit and wait. Men who will not stand against the enemy will not be killed. They are already dead. What a lot of churches want and what a lot of Christians want is a crucified, dead, buried, and ascended Lord, conveniently removed from the earthly scene. We follow the living spirit of the Son of Man. Let's sing again."

And we did. This time it was:
'When the saints go marching in
When the saints go marching in
Dear Lord, I want to be in that number
When the saints go marching in.
When we overcome the world,
Dear Lord, I want to be in that number.'

"Let's sing again," said a Brother from Alabama. And Claude Williams started us off with Brother Whitfield leading in one of those vigorous camp-meeting hymn tunes:

'And when the struggle's over
We shall all be free
In a new society.
Labor on, labor on,
There's a people's world to win.
And when the struggle's over
We shall all be free
In a new society.'

From this transcript of a half-hour session, the reader gets perhaps a little of the flavor and a sense of the significance of the three days spent together on July 22-23-24 by 216 delegates of the Peoples' Congress of Applied Religion from 25 states and 2 provinces of Canada.

The public meetings, of course, attracted the largest attendance. Here the principal speakers, apart from Claude Williams and the two colored preachers, Owen Whitfield and John Miles, were the city folks, from both North and South. The addresses are to be published.

There were many high points in this unique Congress, a Congress which cut across class, racial, sectarian, and geographical lines. Especially noteworthy was the enthusiasm of the Negro preachers. Indeed, one may expect the Negroes more and more to take the lead in this movement, for they are the most crudely exploited group. They are already taking this lead, for that matter, through the remarkable work of Rev. and Mrs. Owen Whitfield of Missouri and through the pioneering work of Rev. John Miles who, with Claude Williams is co-pastor of the People's (interracial and workers') Church in Detroit.

The most instructive sessions, apart from the sort reported at the beginning of this account, were of course those in which Claude Williams and Owen Whitfield reported on the work of the People's Institute.

The entire scope of the work of the Institute has recently been set forth in a revised edition of Cedric Belfrage's *South of God*. The new book, entitled *A Faith to Free the People*, brings the work of Williams' Institute up to date so as to include a description of his fight against "Christian" fascism as it is preached and practiced among the poor white and the poor colored people in Detroit, the new meeting (and burning) point of the North and South in America.

But to return to the Congress, undoubtedly the occasion that will be remembered most vividly by those who attended was the after-dinner talk by Sister Zella Whitfield (the wife of Owen Whitfield and the mother of 16 children) who told a rapt audience the story of the Whitfields' struggle up from the slavery of the twentieth century. Her autobiographical account of the sufferings, the patience, the aspirations of the Negroes of the South was the sort of thing that cannot be put on paper. Its simple, heart-stirring and heart-rending eloquence, ennobled by a sure and firm feeling for the spirit and the word of the Bible, lifted beyond itself, in fact, by an indomitable faith in the God of the Bible, made us understand afresh those words, "Did not our hearts burn within us as he spake with us in the Way?" During her address, three provocateurs who were in attendance persisted in talking about the "dam niggers" and the "reds." But one of them, who had come to scoff remained to pray, for, like many of the delegates and visitors, he was finally compelled to reach for his handkerchief, and at the end he even joined in singing under Rev. and Sister Whitfield's leadership, the verses that might be taken as the theme song of the life of these two remarkable characters, and also as the motto of the People's Institute of Applied Religion as directed by Claude Williams, its creator and its guiding, fighting spirit:

'The people are uniting
We shall not be moved
The people are uniting
We shall not be moved
Just like a tree planted by the water
We shall not be moved.
We shall not, we shall not be moved
We shall not, we shall not be moved
Just like a tree planted by the water
We shall not be moved.'

IT HAS NOT ALWAYS BEEN HUSH-HUSH

by ELBERT AIDLINE-TROMMER

Let the hero born of woman crush the serpent with his heel.

—Battle Hymn of the Republic

IT MAY BE a revelation to many a reader, but the fact is that the Jews in this country had to wage an intensive and, at times, bitter struggle to attain equal rights. More, this struggle might have been lost had backstairs strategy or "lying low" tactics been resorted to. At present, with the ever rising tide of fascism threatening American Jewry with a replica of the Nuremburg laws, if not worse, it is high time to take a look into the past and perhaps learn from it a lesson or two for future guidance.

Asser Levy versus Peter Stuyvesant

In 1654, when twenty-three Brazilian Jews, refugees from the Holy Inquisition, arrived in Nieuw Amsterdam, the present New York, Peter Stuyvesant, the bigoted governor of the colony, would not permit them to land. Asser Levy, the leader of the group, immediately appealed to the Dutch West Indies Company in Holland, and the deportation was stayed pending the outcome. Although the appeal was finally decided in favor of the refugees, the governor kept subjecting the newcomers to all sorts of annoyances—from forbidding them to purchase real estate, or build a house of worship, to limiting the range and scope of their business activities. In every case, Levy appealed in behalf of his fellow-Jews, and in practically every instance won his appeal.

Stuyvesant's next move was to forbid the Jews to stand guard against the Indians. Instead, he imposed a special tax on them as "non-citizens." On Levy's advice, they refused to pay it, and the gruff soldier quailed before a civilian who knew how to stand up for his rights. Thus, persistence and courage won the badge of citizenship for the Jews in North America.

Before long, Levy became the recognized leader of the opposition, Jewish and non-Jewish alike. For the benefit of the present day advocates of the "lying low" and "hush-hush" policy, here is what the Jewish Encyclopedia has to say about Asser Levy: "Instead of being unpopular on account of his many lawsuits, the contrary seems to have been the case. . . . The court remitted the fine [imposed on a Jew in Connecticut] with the comment that it did so 'as a token of its respect to the said Mr. Asser Levy.'"

The capture of the city by the British in 1664 inaugurated a far more liberal regime. Nevertheless, a struggle for full emancipation

had to be kept up; and not in New York alone. While, admittedly, the English settlers in North America had shaped their government after the tenets of the Old Testament, most of New England's colonies would not as much as allow a Jew to tread their soil. A notable exception was Roger Williams' Rhode Island.

Roger Williams and the Dawn of Democracy

It was, indeed, Roger Williams' Rhode Island—his by purchase from the Indians. But it was more than his alone, for it became, under his inspiration, the cradle and disseminator of democracy in America.

This English born Baptist minister arrived in Massachusetts in 1631 and became an instructor at the Church of Salem. Before very long, he came in conflict with the authorities of the colony. And no wonder—like a true Protestant, he preached what he considered right and just. The Church, he believed, could have no jurisdiction over men's consciences; hence, Church and State must be separated; and, what was perhaps regarded as the greatest transgression on his part, he insisted that land be purchased and not wrested from its original owners, the Indians. Things finally came to a pass where his personal liberty was endangered.

Williams and his followers then left Massachusetts and settled at Narragansett Bay, having first paid the Indians for the land they were to occupy. In 1636, he succeeded in obtaining a charter for the new colony which has since been known as Rhode Island. The year 1636 may truly be reckoned as the year of the dawn of democracy in this country, for Roger Williams immediately put his principles into practice. Every one who settled in the new colony was free to worship God as he pleased and to follow whatever ritual he was brought up in. Unlike Maryland, founded four years earlier by Lord Baltimore, a Catholic, where freedom of conscience was allowed to all Christians, but Christians only, Williams' Rhode Island imposed no restrictions on Jews or followers of any other religious creed.

"And the King and Parliament," wrote Roger Williams in his Tract on Liberty, "may please to permit all sorts of Christians; yea,

Jews, Turks, and Pagans, so long they are peaceable, and no malefactors. . . ."

Not alone did Williams practice what he preached in his own colony, but he carried the good fight even to the mother country. While visiting England during the Protectorate, he pleaded for the readmission of Jews who had been expelled from the country under King Edward as far back as 1290.

"As other Nations," ran Roger Williams' argument, in part, "so this especially and the Kings thereof have just cause to fear that the *unchristian oppressions, incivilities* and inhumanities of this Nation against the Jews, have cried to Heaven against this Nation and the Kings and Princes of it."

Roger Williams' impassioned plea had its repercussions not in England alone but in the colonies of the New World as well. A wind of tolerance began to blow for the Jews in America—and for other minorities, too. For, surprising as it may sound, before the Revolution, no mass could be legally celebrated in any of the colonies, with the sole exception of Catholic-founded Maryland. Will the inspirers and sponsors of the so-called "Christian" Front take notice?

Thomas Kennedy, Presbyterian, in Maryland

After 1776, a number of states granted freedom of worship to all, Jews included, but a few of the former colonies retained anti-Jewish laws far into the nineteenth century. Thus, in 1809, an attempt was made to unseat Jacob Henry, duly elected to the Legislature of North Carolina, on the sole ground that he was a Jew. Henry, supported by Christian liberals, put up a stiff fight, and the attempt failed. However, not before 1868, only seventy-six years ago, did North Carolina enact a law permitting Jews to hold public office.

The situation was even worse in Maryland whose constitution contained a clause preventing non-Christians from becoming State officials. Solomon Erting, Bernard Gratz and other prominent Jews, aided by non-Jewish liberals, raised the issue of freedom of conscience. A bitter struggle ensued, but seemed to have been waged in vain, until twenty-five years later, a group of Christians, including Thomas Brackenridge, General Binder, Colonel W. G. Z. Washington, under the leadership of Thomas Kennedy, a Scotch born Presbyterian, took up the fight.

In 1822, Kennedy, elected to the State Legislature, introduced a bill for Jewish enfranchisement which did not become law until

1827. Some slight discriminations, however, still remained, and it was due to the unremitting efforts of Dr. Joshua Cohen, aided by another Kennedy, John P., that, in 1867, all Jewish disabilities were removed from the statutes of Maryland. Similar struggles were waged in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere. In New Hampshire, restrictions against Jewish enfranchisement were not officially removed from the books until 1877, one hundred-and-one years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

Benjamin Nones Speaks His Mind

Early in the 1800's, Major Benjamin Nones, a hero of the Revolutionary War, ran for public office in Philadelphia. His Tory opponent published a letter in the press in which he wound up his slander and vituperations against the Jews as a whole by accusing Nones of being "a Jew, a Republican, and a poor man." Nones' reply, substituting "Democracies" for "Republics" and "fascist regimes" for "monarchies," might have been written today.

"I am accused of being a Jew, of being a Republican and of being poor," he wrote. "I am a JEW. I glory in belonging to that persuasion . . . whose patient followers have endured for ages the pious cruelty of Pagans and of Christians and persevered in the unoffending practice of their rites and ceremonies amidst poverties and privations; amidst pains, penalties, confiscations, banishments, tortures and deaths, beyond the example of any other sect which the page of history has hitherto recorded.

"I am a REPUBLICAN! . . . For three and twenty years I felt no disposition to change my political any more than my religious principles. And which, in spite of the writing scribblers of aristocracy, I shall hold sacred until death. . . .

"I am a JEW. And, if for no other reason, for that reason am I a Republican. . . . In Republics we have rights, in monarchies we live to experience wrongs. . . . But I am POOR: I am so, my family also is large, but soberly and decently brought up. They have not been taught to revile a Christian because his religion is not so old as theirs. They have not been taught to mock even at the errors of good intentions and conscientious belief. I trust they will always leave this to men as unlike themselves, as I hope I am to your scurrilous correspondent."

Today, like Benjamin Nones of Revolutionary fame, the Jews of America are doing their duty in full measure on the far-flung battlefields of the global war. If their fellow-Jews were to fight half as valiantly the menace of fascism on the home front, the hydra of

anti-Semitism would have by now lost a goodly few, if not all, of its vicious heads.

Commodore Levy, Judah P. Benjamin and Other Fighting Jews

Another fighting Jew to go down in history was Uriah P. Levy, the "American Dreyfus" (1792-1862). He had distinguished himself as a privateer in the War of 1812, and was awarded the rank of lieutenant in the U. S. Navy. His fellow-officers took to hazing him. He challenged his annoyers and killed one of them in a duel. After having been court-martialled and demoted, Levy appealed to a Special Court of Inquiry and was vindicated and reinstated in rank. From then on he rose steadily and finally attained the rank of Commodore, then the highest in our Navy. Incidentally, it was he who, as the inscription on his monument attests, "was the father of the law for the abolition of the barbarous practice of corporal punishment in the United States Navy."

A proud and militant Jew was also Senator Judah P. Benjamin, later known as The Brains of the Confederacy. When a colleague referred to him as "That Jew from Louisiana," Benjamin's retort was prompt, brief and to the point:

"It is true that I am a Jew," he replied, "and when my ancestors were receiving their Ten Commandments from the immediate hand of Deity, amidst the thundering and lightning of Mount Sinai, the ancestors of my opponent were herding swine in the forests of Great Britain!"

It is not on record that a similar reply has ever been made to the present anti-Semitic vituperations so often heard in Congress, with the one honorable exception of the late Rep. M. Michael Edelstein, three years ago. Said of him Rep. Arthur G. Klein in a recent broadcast over Station WEVD: "He had heard on the floor of the House an attack [by Rep. Rankin] impugning the good name of his Jewish fellow-citizens. He rose with a passionate defense not only of that valued part of our total citizenry, but of the fundamental ideal of American democracy to which such attacks are repugnant. And after his passionate defense, he collapsed and died."

Why have not Edelstein's Jewish and liberal colleagues in Congress been heard from in the same vein since his untimely death?

Judah P. Benjamin's devotion to the Confederacy during the Civil War gave the Copperheads, of the North a convenient opening for anti-Semitic propaganda. Just as the America Firsters and Isolationists of today, they blamed the Jews for instigating the war and profiteering by it. Their vicious propa-

ganda influenced General Grant into issuing his infamous Order No. 11, barring all Jewish non-combatants from the military zones. A young Jew, Caesar Kaskel by name, a recent arrival from Germany, took it upon himself to reach no less a personage than Lincoln himself regarding the matter. The President countermanded the order that very day.

The Copperheads Find Their Match in Simon Wolf

Meanwhile, the anti-Semitic agitation went on without interruption. The Jews, particularly the more affluent group, a counterpart of their similarly minded descendants of today, buried their heads in the sand, hoping against hope that the hunter's bullet might miss them. But then along came Simon Wolf.

A young lawyer practicing in Washington, he kept his eyes and ears open. He soon realized what the Jew-baiting might lead to. Discarding all advice "not to stir up more trouble" and "not to make matters worse," Wolf acted. He gained the attention of Lincoln and his cabinet and made it clear to them that the anti-Semitic agitation was endangering not the Jews alone, but the Union as a whole. The sanguinary anti-Irish pogroms that had resulted from the Know-Nothing movement less than a decade before, were still fresh in everyone's memory. Encouraged by the Administration's sympathy, Wolf arranged public meetings, wrote and got others to write to the press, made public declarations, and succeeded in arousing public opinion against the Jew-baiters. In a letter to the *New York Evening Post*, he stated:

"The war now raging has developed an insanity of abuse and an intensity of malice that borders upon the darkest days of superstition and the Spanish Inquisition. Has the war been inaugurated by Jews exclusively? . . . Are there no native Americans engaged in rebellion? No Christians running the blockade? I know and I can produce the proofs, that some of the grandest acts of heroism performed during this war were by Jews. . . ." The letter goes on, mentioning names, places, and acts of bravery.

Twenty-six years later, an anti-Semitic article in the *North American Review*, accusing the Jews of having shirked their duty in the Civil War, caused Wolf to spend four years studying the archives of the War Department as well as the files of every important municipality in the North and the South. The result was *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, a monumental work of six hundred pages, listing by name and regi-

ment the Jews who fought with the Union and the Confederate forces. The book also takes in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812 and the Mexican War, and has become a standard reference work on the subject.

We could very well do with a few men like Simon Wolf in the present crisis. Not—just now—with Wolf the historian, but with Wolf the undaunted fighter for his people's rights and, hence, for democracy.

No Profits Wanted from Oppressors

A distinguished contemporary of Simon Wolf was Jacob Schiff, head of Kuhn, Loeb and Company, an outstanding American banker with a truly humanitarian and courageous heart. While the bankers in Europe and in this country were helping save the tottering czarist regime in Russia during and after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, Schiff alone, tells Rabbi Lee J. Levinger in his *History of the Jews in the United States*, "refused to deal with Russia on account of her general medievalism and especially her unjust treatment of the Russian Jews. Even during the World War, his firm loaned money to individual Allies, but would not allow a cent of it to go to czarist Russia, and participated fully in the Allied loans only after the Russian Revolution, when it was certain the money would not be spent to help the persecutors of the Jews."

Schiff thus established a record unexcelled—if ever equalled—in the history of high finance. Were he living now, who knows, perhaps there would be fewer ugly rumors—if only rumors—about American bankers, Jews among them, financing the nazis and fascists before and even after their accession to power, and right to Pearl Harbor. . . .

Ford Eats Humble Pie

There has always existed anti-Semitism of the "gentlemanly" variety and there have been comparatively minor anti-Semitic outbreaks in America, but there was no organized and coordinated anti-Semitic movement prior to the present war, although precursors of things to come made their appearance during World War I. Soon after the Armistice, the immigrant haters in and out of Congress got busy spreading the so-called "Nordic" theory, a forerunner of the nazi "Aryan" doctrine, throughout the nation. A new Ku Klux Klan arose. Exclusion of Jews from hotels and resorts became more brazen than ever before. Colleges began to restrict the number of Jewish students until, in 1922, Harvard University came out into the open, deploring the

fact that "too many" Jews were trying to enter its hallowed portals.

The *Affaire Harvard* had been preceded by the unprovoked, vicious attacks on the Jews in Henry Ford's weekly, *The Dearborn Independent*. The attacks were launched in 1920 and lasted all of seven years, until the *Independent* struck a snag in casting aspersions on Herman Bernstein, internationally known journalist, and Aaron Sapiro, active in developing farm cooperatives in the West. The two immediately brought suit for defamation and libel. A mistrial was declared in April, 1927, and the second trial, though scheduled, never took place. Ford who, testifying at a previous trial, had in his ignorance, confused Arnold Bennett, the British writer, with Benedict Arnold, and afraid of making himself once more the laughing stock of the nation, sent representatives to Louis Marshall, President of the American Jewish Committee, with a request to settle the case out of court.

Marshall was an American Jew of the old school. An outstanding jurist and constitutional lawyer, he had served as the leader of the Jewish delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference and, generally speaking, was a man who neither quailed before a fight where one was necessary nor believed in practicing the supine policy adopted by the American Jewish Committee of today. He was popular and respected not only among his fellow-Jews, but among non-Jews as well; not alone in New York, but throughout the country and abroad.

When Ford's emissaries came to him bearing the white flag, Marshall realized that mild terms would be interpreted as a sign of weakness. He therefore demanded that all false charges made in *The Dearborn Independent* be completely retracted; that Ford make a full public apology; that he request to be forgiven by the Jews; that he discontinue all further attacks, withdraw his anti-Semitic books and pamphlets, including the notorious *Protocols of Zion* from circulation and promise never to publish them again. Ford, fearing a Jewish boycott of his automobiles, accepted these conditions in toto, and signed the required document on June 30th, 1927.

That Ford actually suffered no change of heart, is now a matter of common knowledge. The nazi press has often referred to him as one of the "few worthwhile Americans." John L. Spivack, in his *Secret Armies* (Modern Age Books, 1939), established the close cooperation of Henry Ford with Fritz Kuhn, head of the notorious German-American Bund, who served a prison sentence and is now interned with other denaturalized

ermans. More up-to-date and detailed information about Ford's present day fascist and anti-Semitic activities will be found in Joseph Rainin's series on the American Jewish Committee in *THE PROTESTANT*, especially in the article "The Great Ford Lie," in the May, 1944, issue.

All this, however, does not detract from the good work of Louis Marshall in behalf of democracy and his fellow-Jews. His death in 1929 brought to a close the epic of American Jews who knew how to fight to obtain and to retain their rights. He was the "Last of the Mohicans" of the era that produced Asser and Uriah Levy, Benjamin Nones, Simon Wolf, Jacob Schiff, and others whose names, let alone deeds, could not be mentioned in this brief survey and whose practically only survivor, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, has not been receiving the support he so well deserves.

And Now—What?

Today, when the anti-Semitic movements of the preceding three centuries seem like a series of pinpricks compared to the present propaganda of extermination, American Jewry stands all but leaderless before the implacable foe. And yet, whether a leader of national stature arises or not, the situation is far from hopeless, provided the Jews of America abandon once and for all the policies of "lying low" and "hush-hush" foisted on them by their own reactionaries and appeasers; close their ranks and affiliate themselves with active, militant non-Jewish, anti-fascist organizations. If unity among Jews has proved feasible, say, in Palestine, where all sections and factions, from the ultra-Orthodox, fanatical Agudath Israel, to the Communists, are presenting a truly united front to the enemy, why not here? Now, at once, before it is too late!

THE COMING POWER OF THE SOVIET UNION

By BORIS SKOMOROVSKY

"It looks as if some giant magician in the Urals and beyond were sending endless quantities of men and arms."

(Voelkischer Beobachter, Berlin)

WHEN HITLER attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, in order "to save the entire civilized world from bolshevism," the American appreciation of Russian military, economic, and moral strength generally was very low.

The almost traditional underestimation of Soviet strength should be kept in mind when we try to make any prognosis of the reconstruction of the Soviet Union.

At the peak of the invasion, the motorized Attila had overrun almost 600,000 miles of Soviet territory, or an area equal to that of all Western Europe: France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. About fifty million people, or one quarter of the entire Soviet population, remained under the Nazi occupation (twenty million from the occupied territory were either evacuated to the East or drafted into the Red Army).

The devastation of this huge territory has been so tremendous that some observers are inclined to believe that long years will be necessary to re-establish even the prewar conditions. Lewis L. Lorwin expressed this view in his survey of the "Postwar Plans of the United Nations," prepared for the Twentieth Century Fund (New York, 1943). "At the end of the war," Mr. Lorwin said, "a large

part of the gains of more than a decade of hard work will have been wiped out. In the European part of Russia, at least, the situation may be comparable to that of 1922-1923, when Russia, as a result of war and revolution, was at the lowest depths of economic exhaustion."

Indeed, the destruction wrought by the Nazi Kulturtraeger has been fantastic. With German thoroughness they tried to make the words of the first Attila come true: "Grass does not grow where my horse has passed." But the Soviet Union of 1944 is so *intrinsically* different from prerevolutionary "Holy Russia" that there can be no comparison between the situation following the civil war and foreign intervention, and that which has resulted from the Nazi invasion.

In 1921 the stagnation of the economic life of the country was christened by the Russian people "razrukha," which means ruin or collapse. The output of large-scale industry was seven times less than in prewar times. The level of production of 1913 was again achieved only in 1927. From 1928 on began the rapid growth of industry, directed according to the three five-year plans. This growth has no parallel in any country of the world, including the United States: in the twelve-

year period, from 1928 to 1940, the industrial production increased eightfold in the Soviet Union, whereas the highest increase in the United States during 1880-1890 was 120 per cent.

During the last twenty years, the productive forces and the economic strength of Soviet industry, as well as of agriculture, has increased considerably every year. On the eve of the Russo-German war, in the years of 1938-1940, this progress was particularly great because the Soviet people knew that the enemy attack was imminent and, therefore, they did not hesitate to make any sacrifice in order to prepare their country for Armageddon. Even during the terrible years of war, notwithstanding the great losses in human lives and natural resources, this progress has continued; and today the Soviet Union is economically, militarily, politically, and morally stronger than it was thirty-nine months ago.

Fortunately, far from the whole territory of the USSR and even of European Russia has been occupied by the enemy. If some regions were under the "iron heel" of the invader for more than three years, others enjoyed the "new order" for only a few weeks. The greatest industrial centers—Moscow and, to a large extent, unconquered Leningrad—remained safe, and also the important central region—the Yaroslavl, Ivanovo, and Gorky Provinces—the Northern and Eastern regions of European Russia, the three Transcaucasian Republics—Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia—etc.

The once-occupied regions can rely for help on these more fortunate areas in Europe and especially in Asia, which became more and more important economically in the course of the three five-year plans. The eastwards "migration" of the Soviet industry accomplished during some fifteen years proved to be an extremely wise and long-sighted policy. It made possible the creation in advance of new industrial "supply bases" and "reception centers," far from every possible enemy attack. Therefore, when the war began, giant factories, the most vital for the national defense, could be moved to the vastness of Eurasia, where they resumed their operations after only a short time.

No Lag In Reconstruction

If throughout some 1,200 days and nights of the Russo-German war, Soviet agriculture and industry were able to sustain the colossal war effort, is it not reasonable to suppose that after the end of hostilities reconstruction will proceed smoothly? We should not forget that, if the mobilization for war was begun

long before June, 1941, in the same manner the plans for economic demobilization and the return to normal production were prepared long before the time for their implementation.

Postwar reconstruction is an improper term when applied to Russia, for this country has not waited for peace to embark upon its rehabilitation. When the Red Army launched its first historical counter-blow on the Moscow front, on December 6, 1941, and in the winter of 1941-1942 some districts were liberated, the reconstruction work began there immediately. However, the great offensive which has liberated almost the entire Soviet territory today, was launched in July, 1943. A few weeks later, on August 21, 1943, the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union issued a decree concerning "Urgent measures for the economic rehabilitation of the regions liberated from German occupation." Many similar documents have been released by the Soviet government since then.

How do these measures work in practice? The news coming from the liberated areas provide us with abundant information regarding the new life in this land of desolation, after "the thrice accursed hound Hitler and his entire breed were defeated." (We use the exact words of the Ukrainian peasants and workers of the Poltava district.)

Central Plan Plus Local Initiative

Two features are particularly interesting and deserve to be stressed. On the one hand, the government provided a very precise, even detailed, plan for rehabilitation: it created a special, strongly centralized, five-member committee to direct and supervise the whole work of economic and cultural reconstruction; it entrusted this *civil* committee with the greatest authority. On the other hand, to the population liberated from the enemy was given a large sphere in which to exercise their own initiative and to display their creative energy.

Contrary to certain assertions, Soviet life is by no means "militarized": statements that it is, come from sources which try to find discrepancy between the civil administration, dominated by the Communist Party, and the Red Army, allegedly only "patriotic" and predestined, they think, for a Bonapartist coup d'état. Naturally, martial law is in force in the war zone, but the army limits its control to purely military and security affairs in the reoccupied regions. The civil administration is restored there almost immediately, and it is

olely responsible for the whole work of rehabilitation.

The entire process of reconstruction has the advantage of being directed according to a single plan from one center, and at the same time of not being hampered by a vise of officialdom and red tape: the execution of the plan is left to the collective efforts of the interested citizens and to their free cooperation. Men and women who proved their mettle under the occupation as leaders of the resistance movement are of course chosen by their countrymen to guide the reconstruction of the district. We shall examine in brief how this system of centralized planning from above and popular execution from below achieves its purpose of recreating a new material and spiritual life in the liberated territory.

Let us choose the most typical examples from agriculture, industry, and cultural work.

Rebuilding the Farms

Quite naturally the restoration of agriculture is the cornerstone of the whole program. Despite its rapid industrialization, the Soviet Union remains one of the greatest agricultural producers of the world. There were 340 million acres of crop land harvested in the United States in 1942. The land under cultivation in the Soviet Union amounted to nearly 400 million acres in 1941, if we include the four new Republics—Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia—as well as the Western Ukraine and Belorussia (White Russia). Before the re-union of these Republics with the Soviet Union, ninety-nine per cent of all land belonged to kolkhozes—collective farms or agricultural cooperative associations—and to sovkhoses—state farms.

Collectivization of agriculture, mechanization of all agricultural processes, introduction of progressive scientific methods, and higher productivity of labor, have all greatly improved the situation of the Russian peasant as compared with the prerevolutionary period. On the eve of this war, he began to enjoy a prosperity never achieved before. This successful progress was suddenly disrupted by the "Brown Plague" which can only be compared to the Black Death which ravaged Europe and Asia six centuries ago.

Notwithstanding all their efforts, Nazis could not ravage "Mother Earth" completely when they retreated. They did their best to carry away livestock, to destroy agricultural equipment, and to burn down or blow up entire villages. However, before the invasion, the countryfolk had succeeded in evacuating to the East some livestock and machine tractor stations. Now, from hundreds of stories, we are learning how successfully the "muzh-

iks," for whom the Nazi superman had only contempt, fooled and outwitted the invader; and how they concealed thousands of tons of seed and equipment from him. Bound by a strong mutual confidence and backed by the partisans, the collective farmers—kolkhoziens—continued to live under the occupation, as they say, "po sovietskomu zakonu" (according to the Soviet law). Scores of thousands of peasants—among them women and children—were tortured, abducted to Germany, or murdered. But the resistance remained unbroken.

The first task now is the rebuilding of destroyed homes. In the Kursk Province, where about 80,000 *izbas* had been burned down, more than half of these houses have been rebuilt with materials furnished by the State or, more often, by the local authorities. The local supply of material and manpower is the starting point of Soviet rebuilding. People are told not to count on the "center" but to help themselves. And their inventiveness and ingenuity—the old Russian "smyetka"—produce scores of small wonders daily, all of which, combined, are the great miracle of Soviet reconstruction.

The restoration of the livestock presents even greater difficulties. In the last years preceding the war, the kolkhozes increased their livestock considerably, not only the livestock collectively owned, but that of the collective farmers as well. From 1938 to 1940, the number of cattle increased from 14.6 to 20 million, hogs from 6.3 to 8.9 million, sheep and goats from 22.8 to 41.9 million, and horses from 12.5 to 14.4 million.

But the invader plundered the livestock without mercy. In the Kursk Province, after the liberation there remained 15,000 horses from 320,000 and 4,500 head of cattle from 230,000. Immediately, 10,000 head of cattle were sent to Kursk by the collective farmers of the Buryat-Mongol Autonomous Republic, located near Lake Baikal, many thousands of miles away, a distance greater than that from New York to San Francisco. The Novosibirsk Region sent over 23,000 head of livestock and many thousand plows to the Voronezh Province. We could cite numerous examples of this solidarity as, for instance, a ruined Ukrainian collective farm, which was "patronized," "adopted," and rebuilt by a prosperous Caucasian *aul* (mountain village).

"Shefstvo," or patronage, plays an important role in the restoration of agriculture, as well as of industry, in reoccupied territory. It is not almsgiving or charity, but one of the outstanding social features of Soviet life. The mutual-aid has naturally a powerful moral ef-

fect on the population. But its material aspect is no less important, as this example proves: one single city in the Ural Mountains, Chelyabinsk, sent to its "adopted" Kursk Province a "gift" consisting of six hundred freight cars.

Substantial help is possible because in the rear, even during the three war years, cattle on collective farms rather increased. By January 1, 1944, the liberated regions received from the East 1,723,201 head of livestock and over 500,000 poultry. An additional million head of livestock was delivered this summer.

The great problem of Russian agriculture is manpower. Its complete solution is not possible before the end of the war and the demobilization of the army. Agricultural work is now done chiefly by women, old folk, boys and girls, and their achievements really defy all the "eternal laws" of economics of an acquisitive society: in 1943 each collective farmer cultivated twice the average area the Russian peasant had cultivated in 1913.

Who could have imagined that only a few months after liberation, all over the reoccupied regions countless collective farmers would be able to give large sums as a gift to the State for the building of tanks, planes, cannons, etc.? From every corner of the liberated Ukraine, once the most important granary of the USSR, comes news that grain, sugar beet, sunflower, and other industrial crop plantings have greatly exceeded the program: spring grain plan fulfilled by 117 per cent, sugar beet by 106 per cent, and sunflower by 120 per cent.

As at the same time many of the Central and Eastern regions continued to expand their cultivated areas, an increase of some seventeen million acres in the area under spring crops could be recorded. In 1943 the total crop area was twenty-six per cent larger than in 1913, stated I. Benediktov, Assistant People's Commissar of Agriculture of the USSR. And the current year marks a new high: throughout the country the people speak about the Victory Harvest ("Zhatva Pobedy").

From the Kuban comes word that crops in this area are better than in the bumper year of 1937. Vasily Derkachev, chairman of a collective farm in this district, reports with pride an average of nearly two tons of grain per hectare (one hectare=2.471 acres; one ton=2240 pounds).

Very interesting news is reported from the Karaganda Region of the Kazakh Republic in Central Asia. The hunting-loving Kazakhs, nomads of yesterday, are fast becoming farmers. Formerly, this treeless, sun-scorched

steppe called "karaganda" ("black land" Kazakh language) consumed more grain than it produced. In the last few years, on the contrary, it has become a grain-exporting region, and in 1943 the collective farms sent twice as much grain to the State as in 1940. In addition to wheat, they produce vegetables, rice, and melons.

The following information is particularly timely now when Alaska, which lies chiefly between 60° and 70° north latitude, is a frequent topic of public discussion in this country. We learn that in the Soviet Union north of the 62nd parallel, where previously no agriculture existed, potatoes and vegetables grow very well today at 70°, and grain crops at 68°. During the last few years the area sown to grain, to potatoes, and to different vegetables in the Soviet Extreme North has increased several times, and the Northerners who formerly ate only vegetables brought from other parts of Russia, now have their own local supply.

New Industries Revive the Old

The reconstruction of agriculture goes hand in hand with constant progress in industry. Besides evacuated factories, many completely new industrial establishments have been built and put into operation in the East, during these years of war.

Thus, a new blast furnace came into operation in Magnitogorsk, on December 25, 1943. Its completion fulfills the Magnitogorsk iron and steel workers' project of the third Five-Year Plan (1938-1942). This blast furnace, the sixth, is the greatest in Europe. It was called the Youth Blast Furnace, as about two-thirds of the five thousand builders and installation workers were boys and girls in their teens and as young people would operate it. It is worth mentioning that whereas the fifth blast furnace had been built in a year, this one was completed in the record time of less than seven months. A seventh blast furnace will soon be put into operation, and an eighth and last will follow after that.

New power stations which are put into operation this year will have a total capacity almost equal to that of all power stations built during the first Five-Year Plan (1929-1932). The aggregate capacity of the Urals power stations increased by eighty per cent in the first two years of war. The capacity of the new stations built in 1942-1943 is 350 per cent greater than the capacity of stations dating from 1941, and 700 percent greater than that of stations dating from 1940. On July 8, 1944, the first three-ton trucks came off the conveyor belt of a new automobile plant in the Southern Urals.

The workers of the Kuznetsk Basin report to Stalin that in 1943 the Kuzbas turned out four million more tons of coal than in 1942. They undertook to increase the production of the current year by at least two million tons of coal. Simultaneously, they are helping the Donbas with gifts of large quantities of equipment, instruments, food, and clothing.

The factories in the East work at full speed, and some of them have increased their output as much as sixteen times the prewar level. Contrary to the opinion expressed by certain "experts" the government does not intend to "agriculturalize" the reoccupied territory. The opposite is true. Thus, the Urals industry, which expanded by fifty percent last year, is progressing this year at the rate of "barely" twenty percent. Why? To permit the rehabilitation of the economy of liberated regions on a large scale. Indeed, 44.7 billion rubles are to be invested in the national economy, primarily in industrial construction, in 1944. This represents an increase of forty-four percent over the preceding year.

What is really happening, is that many evacuated factories are staying in their new locations in the East, where their work has been well organized; but at the same time, they become "patrons" of ruins of their former establishments in the reoccupied territory, and send back "home" many engineers and skilled workers to revive the production there as quickly as possible. As a result, after this war, there will be many "twin" factories in the Soviet Union.

The industrial reconstruction begins, as the Russians say, "on the shoulders of the retreating enemy." When, for instance, the decisive battle for the Donets Basin began, the mining engineers, who had left the coal fields of the Rostov Coal Combine in the winter of 1941, were in the city of Molotov, in the Urals, preparing blueprints for rebuilding the mines. These specialists returned to the Donbas together with the vanguard of the Red Army. Work on the mines started twenty-four hours after they had been retaken. One of the largest mines in the Donbas, the Nezhdanny, scheduled to begin production on December 1, 1943, was sending coal to the surface on October 7.

The city of Kharkov was captured by the Red Army on August 23, 1943. Three months later, in November, the Kharkov Tractor Works turned out the first parts for tractors, as well as for tanks. Manufacture of new tractors with the trade mark "KTZ", famous throughout the Ukraine, will be resumed next December.

The workers of the Dnepropetrovsk Province report that the Dzerzhinsky Plant was

already smelting metal in the spring of this year. And the Krivoi Rog Basin began to supply the country with large quantities of high-grade ore. The June production of this basin was six times that of April, and that of July was even greater, with eleven mines in operation. In Leningrad, last year, the increase in output represented eighty-four percent of the industrial production of 1942.

Wheels Turn Again In Donbas

One of the most important problems for Soviet industry is the rehabilitation of the Donets Basin. In 1913 it produced almost nine-tenths of the total output of the country. Thanks to the rapid progress of the coal industry in the new areas (the coal resources of the USSR total 1,654 billion tons; they are second only to those of the United States), the share of the Donbas was only half of the country's coal production in 1941. But the Donbas still remains the basis of industry in European Russia. N. S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Republic, stated last spring that the rehabilitation of the Donbas would progress seven or eight times more rapidly than in the revolutionary period of the early 1920's. Was this wishful thinking?

We have just received the answer in a letter to Stalin from 710,086 Donbas' workers, published on September 8 in the Moscow press. In the first year after the liberation, seven blast furnaces, twenty-three open hearth furnaces, seventeen rolling mills, and forty-two coking batteries have been re-established in this area. Eight hundred and forty-eight industrial enterprises, including fifty-one large mines, have been reopened; and six million tons of coal, including two million tons of coking coal, have been mined. Factories have produced 200,000 tons of pig iron, 430,000 tons of steel, 220,000 tons of rolled steel, and more than 700,000 tons of coke.

Efficiency Has Increased

Throughout the country, many industrial enterprises have improved their production and lowered its cost, besides reducing their consumption of materials and fuel.

The production cost of Soviet industry decreased by nine percent in 1942, and again by five percent in 1943. Despite the replacement of many skilled workers by housewives, old retired men, and youngsters, the productivity of labor increased, last year, by fifteen percent in the munitions industry, twenty-seven percent in the electric power industry, thirty percent in the aircraft industry, thirty-eight percent in the tank building industry. From

July, 1943, to July, 1944, the output of ore increased twenty percent; steel, twenty-eight percent; coke, thirty percent; coal and rolled metal, thirty-one percent; pig iron, thirty-four percent. In July the Soviet oil industry exceeded the preceding month's output by five percent.

As in the case of agriculture, scientific planning and centralized direction have been successful in industrial reconstruction, thanks to the enthusiastic participation of the whole population. It is a genuine "Narodnaya Stroika" ("People's Project"), in which the remotest village and factory are helping with such things as technical personnel, machinery, raw materials, fuel, food, and clothing. The program fixed by the State Planning Commission for 1943 was overfulfilled almost everywhere. And this was not considered as an exceptional achievement or, to put it otherwise, the exception has become the rule. The quotas for 1944, higher than those for the preceding year, will be filled, I believe, long before December 31, as all available data regarding the production in the first half of the current year and in the months of July and August prove that the plans are considered not as "good intentions" but only as a strict minimum.

Culture Replaces Kultur

The rebirth of cultural life is regarded as not less essential than economic reconstruction. Schools, reading rooms, libraries, houses of socialist culture, theaters, cinemas, universities and museums are on the same priority list as mills, machine and tractor stations, or hospitals. Eighty higher scientific and educational institutions have been restored in the liberated regions. All the news concerning the cultural as well as the economic home front is prominently displayed in the press, and the readers are no less interested in it than in the war communiqués. The opening of the University of Kiev or the completion of the destroyed blast furnace in the Donbas, are celebrated in the same way as a great victory.

Large funds have been appropriated to satisfy the social and cultural requirements of the population. Notwithstanding the strain put on the State resources by the war effort, budget expenditures on such requirements totaled 37 billion rubles in 1943. The budget

for the current year has appropriated 51.4 billion rubles—an increase of thirty-eight percent over 1943—to meet cultural and social needs. Thus, the scientific institutions, schools, and medical institutions, far from narrowing the scope of their activities, are expanding them steadily.

Strength for Ways of Peace

It is simply incorrect, I think, to envisage the postwar Soviet Union as a weak, exhausted country, which only a decade of toil and foreign assistance can bring to the prewar level. On the contrary, Russia's productive capacity, as a whole, has already surpassed the prewar level. The country possesses qualified cadres, technical and administrative, to assume the responsibilities of a new economic progress. During the first two and a half years of war, 200,000 specialists were graduated from universities, colleges, and higher technical institutions.

If the German attack had not disturbed the economic growth of Russia, she would have been very near her goal, "to overtake and outstrip" the most advanced capitalist countries, in this year of 1944. Now she needs two years of peace to cure her war wounds and to regain her prewar level. In spite of enormous losses in human lives, postwar Russia will have a population of almost two hundred million in 1945, and this will be increased by about fifty million inhabitants in the next quarter of a century.

Russia will represent an immense market for producers' goods, railroad equipment, machine tools, factory equipment, machinery of all kinds. She will need consumers' goods, too—from motorcars and refrigerators to shoes and clothing—since during the war the most urgent requirements of the population could not be satisfied. In this country, we can hardly imagine how completely the production for civilian consumption has been stopped.

The peoples of the Soviet Commonwealth of Nations will long for a better life and, therefore, for peace and international cooperation with all peace loving countries. Not a weak but a sound, strong Russia, developing rapidly, will offer the greatest opportunities for trade and cultural intercourse with all democratic nations and, particularly, with the United States.

* * *

If the war doesn't end pretty soon, it's going to interfere with our reconversion program.

EUGENE RASKIN, *New York City.*

NAILING THE SPECIOUS LIE

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN LATIN AMERICA? by George P. Howard; foreword by John A. Mackay; The Westminster Press, Philadelphia; 170 pp., \$2. (A Religious Book Club Selection).

"Here is a book," writes Dr. Mackay in his foreword, "that deals with the gravest single issue that confronts the Western Hemisphere."

It is so important in our estimation that, with the permission of The Westminster Press, we present a series of quotations in place of a review.

"The interpreter of the unique collection of documents that forms the basis of this book," continues John A. Mackay, "is an Argentine citizen, born of American parents in the great southern republic, and subsequently educated in the United States. . . . In recent years he has journeyed from one country of Latin America to another as a Christian apostle to the classes and masses. . . . Two years ago, during a visit to the United States, our author, as he tells us, was startled to find that an insidious movement was on foot to convince Government circles and the general public—and especially Church members, both Protestant and Catholic—that the greatest single obstacle to inter-American comity is the missionary movement of Evangelical Christianity in the Latin world. He thereupon undertook a special journey to Latin America. In the course of this journey, he interviewed representative men and women of different backgrounds and spheres of life, scarcely one of whom was a Protestant Christian. Jurists, statesmen, men of letters, journalists, diplomats, educators, were in unanimous agreement that it is utterly untrue to say that Protestant Christianity in Latin America is in any way whatever a stumbling block to good will. . . .

"Who is it, then, that have constituted, and continue to constitute, an obstacle to inter-American comity? In Latin America the centers of difficulty are: feudal barons, Fascist militarists, clerical politicians; racial absolutists, Nazi and Fascist agents. . . ."

Dr. Mackay concludes:

"For one who knows the Latin-American tradition it is abundantly plain that there is emerging in North American life, in both the United States and Canada, a new portent. That portent the people of the Latin world have known for centuries. They have called it 'clericalism,' the organized political power of the higher clergy of the Roman Catholic

Church, as distinguished from the Catholic religious tradition and the mass of the Roman Catholic people. . . . This portent is the source, among other things, of the specious lie that Protestant missions in Latin America are subversive of the Good Neighbor policy."

Dr. Howard reports:

"Manuel Seoane, editor of Chile's most popular weekly, *Ercilla*, . . . is a Roman Catholic and one of his sisters is a nun in a teaching order in the United States. . . . In a written statement he says:

" . . . We are witnessing a "directed religious policy" which requires that the abundant flow of American functionaries to South America should fulfill, if possible, the prerequisite of being Roman Catholic.

"We Latin Americans are inclined to be distrustful. We ask ourselves: Why does a country which is predominantly Protestant send us delegations that are predominantly Catholic? Why does it try to hide its Protestantism? . . .

"This attitude of favoring everything that is Roman Catholic has gone to the extreme of making it difficult for Protestant missionaries to travel to South America. This is a very serious matter. Among us freedom of religion is established by our constitution and it offends us to think that an inquisitorial office has been established in some passport department which decides to whom we are to extend our hospitality!"

"It was a red-letter day when I was ushered into the private study of Dr. Hugo Fernandez Artucio, a distinguished lawyer, member of the Uruguayan Legislature, university professor, and member of 'The Free World Association.' . . . He was invited to this country by the United States Government as an official guest and as a recognition of his services to the cause of the United Nations. Here is a quotation from a statement written after his return:

"The influence of Catholic intolerance reflected in the foreign policy of the United States is considered by people of liberal spirit in this country as a dangerous symptom of the totalitarian leanings of the United States. Therefore, there is a feeling of resentment among liberal sections of Uruguayan public opinion because of this surprising aspect of American policy. . . .

"I have lived for two years in the United States and I hold a deep affection for its people. The foundation of democracy in that country is the small community of Puritan tradition. Evidently there is a clerical revolution underway in the world to destroy the gains which up to the present have been made for democracy. This is especially dangerous in the United States."

"It is fear of the growing political power of the common people and an unwillingness to keep step with the 'march of time' that leads the conservative classes of Spanish America to turn to the army and Church for support in a world that is tumbling about their ears."

"In no country of Latin America has religious liberty been restricted as in Peru. Not a single liberal paper is published, and the liberal party, known as the *Apra*, has been disfranchised. The strongly centralized military government is staunchly supported by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. In fact it is currently said that Msgr. Cento, the papal legate, is one of the small oligarchy that governs the country. He is an Italian and was Dictator Gomez' strong support in Venezuela. . . .

"In the light of these facts, it is therefore doubly significant that voices should have been raised in the Peruvian congress and that strong editorials and articles should have appeared in the public press condemning the persecution of the Protestants and defending them in the exercise of their constitutional rights.

"On October 5, 1943, the following protest signed by five of its members was presented on the floor of the Peruvian senate:

"Mr. President: In the session of August 27 of 1940 of this Senate it was agreed to communicate with the Minister of Government, asking him to reprimand and punish the subordinate police authorities who had exceeded their authority in their relations with the Protestants. He was also asked to protect the latter in the exercise of the rights which our Constitution affords them. Since that date unfortunate incidents have continued to occur with disconcerting frequency. This makes it necessary for us to act again, not in defense of a religious creed, but in behalf of such elementary principles as freedom of expression and of conscience. . . .

"Let it not be said in defense of this persecution, that Protestant activity is inimicable to the country's best interests or distasteful to its people. It has been and is, on the contrary, most beneficial. . . ."

"Of the twenty-two members of the Peruvian senate, nineteen voted in support of this resolution. A similar protest against this persecution of the Protestants came from the chamber of deputies."

"Chile is one of the five Latin-American countries that have governments chosen in free and popular elections. Hence, a statement signed by every member of the Chilean president's cabinet is full of significance.

"The undersigned, being consulted regarding their estimate of the Protestant missionaries who have come from the United States and who work in Chile, on the basis of their observations as ministers of state, declare:

"That the total contribution of these missionaries to our country has been highly beneficial in a cultural, civic, and spiritual sense. . . .

"That, far from creating difficulties in international relations or being an obstacle to the Good Neighbor policy, they have promoted a feeling of mutual understanding and a spirit of practical co-operation without in any way interfering in political matters."

"Dr. Casal Castel, the distinguished Roman Catholic writer of Argentina . . . was asked if he considered that the presence in South America of Protestant missionaries was an obstacle to the Good Neighbor policy, and in answer he said most emphatically: 'It is not. I maintain that the work of these missionaries is a form—the most effective form—of that same policy. I would even venture to say that it is a form of solidarity in the spiritual realm. It is a practical Pan-Americanism!'"

"Dr. Hélio Lobo is a member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters and of the Historical and Geographical Institute of Brazil. . . .

"Are American missionaries an obstacle to the Good Neighbor policy?" he was asked.

"Not at all," was his answer. "Those missionaries can only help that policy, as they are, in fact, doing. They preach the Gospel, whose predominant note is that of the brotherhood of all men. . . .

"Protestant missionary work in Brazil deserves our warmest encouragement and praise because of what it has done in favor of education, health and social welfare, especially of the humbler classes of our people. . . ."

"These and many other testimonies that could be presented, if space permitted, serve to indicate that, if any resentment against Protestant missionary activity in Latin America exists, it will be found almost exclusively among the small groups of clerical reactionaries both in South America and the United States."

THE REVOLT AGAINST GOD, by Rufus Washington Weaver, DD., LL.D., Fleming H. Revell Company, 243 pp., \$2.50.

Dr. Weaver is a wise and good man. He writes here in vivid and dramatic fashion of the conflict between Christianity and the modern world, which he calls the revolt against God. This is of course a conflict which is without historical beginning and will never end. Our present world humanism has grown out of God because He has been misused by anti-humanist reactionaries. When "God" is introduced into a chain of causation the scientist grows rightfully angry, but instead of blaming the mistake on the human reactionary, throws out God, who was never in.

Dr. Weaver sketches most fascinatingly the use of civilizations, cultures and religions. The American civilization, he says, is grounded upon the principle of the perfectibility of human nature, from which principle have evolved five corollaries: freedom, democracy, popular education, modern science and the idea of unlimited progress. Being a mature protestant he stresses the separation of church and state because it has freed the people from oppression in the realm of religion. In lining up the enemies of God, Dr. Weaver places the Bolsheviks alongside of the Nazis. This is uncritical because the "God" against whom the Bolsheviks fought had little in common with the "God" against whom the Nazis fought. The representatives of God in Russia had been largely on the side of oppression and illiteracy and poverty. The representatives of God in Germany came largely over onto Hitler's side and helped him in his attack against the Jews and in his progressive enslavement of Europe. Right down to this very day the representatives of "God" have not spoken out in any effective way against Hitler with the exception of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian Baptists and evangelical Christians. This is a serious fault in an otherwise extremely valuable book. Dr. Weaver's chapters on the Apostolic mind, the Judaizing mind, the Hellenistic mind, the Roman mind, the Sacerdotal and ecclesiastical minds, the mystical and Protestant minds form a very readable and original account of the development of Christian culture. But this is no mere history. It is a prophetic cry of warning to those modern nations which think to get along without God. "They grope in the dark without light; and he maketh them stagger like a drunken mind." One question however remains, and it is vital to answer this question. The word God used as a common term by humanity's friends and humanity's enemies becomes a source of confu-

sion and serves the cause of the devil. The poor man, outcast, disinherited, starving, asks this question: You insist on giving me God. All right, but what does your God mean? Does he mean freedom and bread and brotherhood and justice? Or does he mean Fascism and slavery and starvation and war? The question before the world today is not so much the question of God versus anti-God. It is rather a human decent conception of God versus an inhuman indecent conception of God.

K. L.

INVASION JOURNAL, by Richard L. Tobin, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1944, 223 pp., \$2.00.

Those of us who seek the truth know that at least nine-tenths of the newspapers in the United States made varying types of mis-statements concerning the crucial issues during the Presidential campaign or omitted publishing most important truths. Therefore, relatively speaking, an analysis of the treatment given the recently-published *Invasion Journal* is not so amazing. Practically every book reviewer has chosen to omit any mention whatsoever of such passages as these:

"Yet, I know how many of our friends in Forest Hills would have been collaborationists if geography had interchanged us with France. I could almost name them. They start with Jew-baiters and they include Navy, Army and Church officers." (page 47) "London is filled with Nazi intelligence men. The problem is to get the invasion started in so overwhelmingly mystifying manner that not even the Nazis in Allied uniforms here in London, nor the fifth columnists, nor the Irish Republican Army, can give away the heaviest secret of our age." (page 52)

"The Irish neutrality business gets no clearer; if anything, it becomes more of a mystery day by day. DeValera has just won the new election; DeValera stood for neutrality, or whatever the Irish niceness can be called. But the fact continues that German and Japanese consuls all through Ireland have complete access to information about convoys; indeed, about the movement of any ship at all in the waters surrounding Ireland, which is the seagate to England and the invasion ports. No wonder the British have closed all traffic between Ireland and England and virtually blockaded the place. I feel ashamed of my paternal blood when I consider the Eire of today, the stubbornness, informing, stealth, selfishness, smallness, narrowness of the Irish." (page 52)

"What is the matter with the Irish anyway? What is the matter with the Irish Catholics, or with the Pope himself, that he and they never raised their voices against the despicable bombings of their undefended Spanish towns, yet have become hysterical because Rome can hear the sound of Allied guns? Is there no moral distinction between Hitler and his devils, and the Allied cause?" (page 52)

"A strong stand by the Pope against the shocking anti-Semitism in Germany and Poland, a germ that turned into anti-Catholicism and anti-Protestantism, a strong stand by the head of that powerful church would have cut the war by years." (pages 52-53)

"... a man begins to comprehend what imagination and work, what extraordinary planning went on almost in silence in the two years between American entry into the war, and the invasion of France. It makes one wonder at the depth of patience of a man like Roosevelt, who knew it all along, but had to keep his heavy secret and hold his tongue while the 'Chicago Tribunes' of my country reviled him." (page 104)

"It is possible, of course, that Hitler is using the robot as a card with which to win a negotiated peace before the time falls due militarily for complete and unconditional surrender by German arms." (page 108)

The author of *Invasion Journal*, Richard L. Tobin, is a war correspondent for the New York *Herald Tribune*. However, even the two reviewers of his own newspapers chose not to pay adequate tribute to his integrity and courage. They also omitted any mention whatsoever of the passages I have quoted.

Personally, Tobin's book got me. It held me in its grip until the last word. Others may find it just as absorbing.

RUFUS WADDELL

ALFRED LOISY, HIS RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE,
by M. D. Petre; Cambridge University
Press; 129 pp., 1944, \$2.

This is a concise interpretation of the religious significance of the life and work of Alfred Loisy, the great Catholic Modernist, who died in June, 1940, just before the collapse of France. The author, herself a loyal Catholic, did not live to see her tribute to her friend published.

On September 8, 1907, Pope Pius X issued his famous encyclical letter, *Pascendi Dominici regis*, which sounded the death knell for the movement which had been headed by Fr.

Loisy and was known as "Modernism." Miss Petre briefly sums up Loisy's failure to affect the doctrine and polity of his church in these words, "the temper of the church was against him, and he was not made of the stuff to temporize." With the Papal condemnation of Loisy's work there came to a tragic end a movement that might have done much to reform and re-orient the Roman Catholic Church. But the memory of Alfred Loisy will live on and his struggle to make the technique of historical criticism effective in ecclesiastical tradition and polity is bound to be revived even within Catholicism. This little volume should do much to acquaint Catholics and non-Catholics alike with the significant, if temporarily defeated, work of a great Christian scholar and saint.

KARL M. CHWOROWSKY

THE FIVE ARROWS, by Allan Chase, Random
House, N. Y. \$2.50.

Although Allan Chase is best known for such brilliant scoop reportage as *Falange*, he has turned out a blood-thunder-murder-love-intrigue novel on a Nazi infested Republic of Latin America.

Adventure story readers will love Matthew Hall, American journalist, citizen of the world and streamlined anti-Fascist "Dick Tracy" who was battle baptized in Loyalist Spain. The Nazi-born "Falange," driven underground, now emerges in the city of San Hermo as The Five Arrows who plan to murder the great democratic president, El Tabio.

The hunt is on. Hall stops at nothing in his insatiable hatred for the native Fascists. Cutting deep into the plot to replace El Tabio with the Falangist Gamburdo, Hall uncovers the pipeline leading through Franco Spain to the brains of Berlin. The Falange mark Hall for death. There are breathtaking escapes within an inch of his life but of course he lives to cripple the Fascist conspiracy and marry the beautiful red-headed American heroine who incidentally has scarcely noticed the war until she meets Matthew Hall.

The warning in *The Five Arrows* is clear. The United States must give bolder support to such patriotic republicans in Latin America as those who aided in Hall's fight against the Falange, or the Western Hemisphere will be a volcano of Fascism even in the post-war peace.

We believe that Allan Chase's novel will and should find many readers, in spite of certain reservations on our part as to its literary quality.

NANCY FENTON.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Rabbi Repudiates Woltman Smear

I am completely in accord with your views on the subject of the insidious menace of Fascism which lies hidden behind the pious mask of high dignitaries of both church and synagogue. I have expressed publicly, from pulpit and platform, my contempt for and repudiation of the Woltman smear of THE PROTESTANT, and my indignation against the American Jewish Committee, self-styled and self-appointed custodians of the destiny of American Jewry, who maliciously subsidized and spread the Woltman filth in order to injure and, if possible, destroy the support which intelligent and generous Jews were giving to THE PROTESTANT. I fervently trust that the below-the-belt attack has failed to deprive your organization of the assistance it so richly deserves from the Jewish people. No group of American citizens is as susceptible to vilification and injury as the children of Israel, and no publication in our country is as unswervingly and militantly aware of and arrayed against the surviving roots of Fascism, both here and abroad, as the fighting PROTESTANT. More power to you, and may God strengthen you in your resolve to fight this battle of the Lord until we have attained that permanent victory over evil and bigotry which will usher in the establishment of the kingdom of righteousness.

If there is anything I can do to further the activities of THE PROTESTANT, please do not hesitate to call upon me. With best wishes for your continued success, and trusting that you will persevere with characteristic courage and devotion to protest against injustice and intolerance until the prophetic ideals which Judaism and Christianity espouse in common are fulfilled at last, I remain

RABBI ISRAEL MARGOLIES,
Englewood, N. J.

From Many Walks of Life

I wish to express my appreciation for the splendid work which is being done through THE PROTESTANT. Every issue is read carefully and I have found others on this field who are greatly interested in your work.

GEORGE H. WOOD,
Chaplain, Bergstrom Field,
Austin, Tex.

I have found the magazine most illuminating and helpful. It is prophetic in the true sense of that word. I consider it a privilege to be a subscriber.

REV. GORDON C. SMYTH,
Minister, The United Church of Canada,
Haliburton, Ont.

Am sending check for two years' renewal. May I add my very personal compliments. Your services to those of us who seek to keep the great spirit of decency and honor forging ahead merits the commendation of all people. Yours is one of the most potent forces in man's conquest for the Century of the Common Man. As a Trade Unionist I find THE PROTESTANT a constant inspiration for the trying job of education in the Labor Movement.

J. H. JENSEN,
President, Cinema Lodge No. 1185,
International Association of Machinists, A. F. of L.
Los Angeles, Cal.

Help Wanted

To combat anti-Semitism, I am preparing a pamphlet which will deal with the common variety found among people who are not consciously following the fascist line. Readers of THE PROTESTANT could help significantly by submitting from personal experience examples of either (a) anti-Semitic remarks or actions observed in their neighborhood, or (b) any effective steps, no matter how small, taken by themselves or others to counter this subtle form of anti-Semitism. Direct quotations are desirable; contributors will not be identified by name. My address is 8 West 40 Street, New York 18.

ALEXANDER L. CROSBY,
New York City

Servicemen Like THE PROTESTANT, Too
PASS YOUR COPY ON

A seriously wounded officer, who recently spent over a hundred days under treatment, sent us a contribution to provide complimentary subscriptions of THE PROTESTANT to eight hospitals which he listed. He added this suggestion:

"As your fine publication is not a 'current events' magazine, couldn't you put a paragraph in one of your issues, urging subscribers to mail their old copies to some hospital, replacement or reception center?"

This man is back in the fight again. Why not adopt his suggestion and put your old copies back in the fight too?

Both Officers and Men

Upon my return to the States, I found it most difficult to acquire your magazine at the usual newsstands and so am applying for a subscription.

The copies I have been able to acquire after wide searches have been avidly read by both my officers and soldier buddies for the many interesting and broadminded articles not found in other magazines.

CPL. MITCHELL R. BLATTSTAIN,
Charleston, S. C.

Teaching Love of Mankind

With so many subversive organizations in this world, it is a pleasure to know that some people have the courage to fight these haters and troublemakers. This will be a much better world, if people learn to love and trust and the only way to obtain this result is by teaching and publicizing fellowship and love of mankind as you are doing. Keep up the good work.

IRVING TESSLER,
New York City

Against the New Deal and THE PROTESTANT

I have received several complimentary copies of THE PROTESTANT. Thank you. There is a lot of good in it. This can be said of almost anything. On the whole I don't like its policies, if it has any.

You attack "Spiritual Mobilization" because it's backed up by too much money, but you support the New Deal which has unlimited funds to perpetuate un-American policies.

I believe, and did long before the *Christian Century* came to the same conclusion, that the Roosevelt Administration is unmoral. I feel so strongly about this that I wish to receive no religious journal which supports it.

REV. LYLE D. STONE
Carrollton, Ill.

To Every Fighter Against Tyranny

THE PROTESTANT is a source of inspiration to every fighter against tyranny. The forces of fascism are so powerful, so well-organized and so well camouflaged, that the immensity of the struggle on hand and ahead of us appears almost overwhelming.

More than anything else, our people need orientation—both our civilians and our armed forces. This orientation must begin from such elementaries as the definition of those words and phrases which are so glibly tossed around, while largely not understood. And from there on, it must have some useful and understandable goal.

THE PROTESTANT, which I have been reading for some time now, is one of the few publications which seems to understand what is in question and how solutions can be achieved.

May it never betray our faith in it. May it grow in circulation and daring. May it gather greater and greater numbers of pen-wielders and print-readers around it. It can lead a whole army of anti-fascist thinkers into the battle of ideas against that well-organized other side.

P. PHILLIPS,
New York City